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MINNESOTA HISTORY BULLETIN

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THE MICROSCOPIC METHOD APPLIED TO HISTORY [1]

Mr. President, Members of the Minnesota Historical Society, Ladies, and Gentlemen: The superintendent, in inviting me to address the society, suggested that I take some theme which would enable me to present the plans we have developed at Wisconsin for doing a certain portion of our work, and to exhibit somewhat the methods which we are following, or propose to follow, in accomplishing our aims.

The principal feature of our new activity in the Wisconsin Historical Society is the so-called "Wisconsin Domesday Book." Briefly defined, this is a plan by which it may be possible ultimately to prepare and publish, partly in the form of an atlas and partly in the form of text, the pioneer history of all the townships of Wisconsin. For the older counties we take the year 1860 as the normal year and call our plats "Farms and Farmers of 1860." For the newer counties of northern Wisconsin the year 1890 will be taken, and this will also be the date for the second cross-section study of the older counties, while 1920 will be taken uniformly all over the state for a final survey.

The unit in the "Domesday Book" work is the map of the township, or of the town, which usually occupies the area of the surveyor's township. There are several reasons for taking the township as the unit. One is that we have access to the original plats prepared by the surveyors, which are, as a rule, plats of townships six miles square, and contain some indications of the topography, such as the outlines of rivers, lakes, and to some extent marshes and hills, what might be called the hydrographic system. Secondly, the surveyors'

[1] An address read at the annual meeting of the Minnesota Historical Society, St. Paul, January 17, 1921.

descriptions of the land, the surface, the quality of the soil, the character of the timber, the trails, and similar features seen in running the lines are arranged by townships. This information is an important source from which to reconstruct the conditions under which the land was settled, and the data can be readily transcribed either to the margin of our township plat or to the text which is to supplement the plat. The tract-books preserved in the United States land offices and in the state land office contain the records of sales of lands to private individuals, also arranged by townships and sections. The same is true, usually, for the records of organized towns in Wisconsin, since these towns are, in at least ninety per cent of the cases, confined within the boundaries of congressional townships. If one is looking for town tax rolls in the county courthouses, the books containing them in most cases will contain data concerning the residents of a district thus delimited, arranged by sections from one to thirty-six. Similarly, the indexes of land titles and dates of purchase, for which we go to the offices of abstractors, are arranged by townships and sections. Thus, while in some of the other states it might prove more advantageous to carry on the work by taking the county as a unit, in Wisconsin the town or township is preferable. In addition to the reasons given above, the United States census — of which we have the original schedules for the seventh, eighth, and ninth (1850, 1860, and 1870) — is arranged by townships, except in those cases, pertaining mainly to the seventh census, in which it was found that there were a good many unorganized townships, when the arrangement was by districts.

What has already been said will indicate the principal features introduced into our plats. The first step is to prepare a transcript of the surveyor's original plat, giving the geography and topography of the township. Upon this plat are then inscribed the names of all farm landowners of the year 1860, with the outline of the holding of each clearly defined. There is also an indication of the date of acquisition of each separate

parcel or tract of land making up the individual farm, which enables the reader of the plat to determine instantly the progress of the pioneers in the acquisition of their lands. For example, on the plat of the town of Primrose, Josiah La Follette's farm consists of eleven forty-acre tracts, or 440 acres. Of these, four forties were bought in 1851, four in 1853, and three in 1854. In case the purchase was original — that is, if it consisted of an entry of government or state land — the fact is indicated by placing a star before the date. From the surveyor's notebook are transcribed all data relating to the description of the land — surface, soil, timber, et cetera — along the defined lines according to the survey. Finally, the census-taker's description of the farm as it was in 1860 (and also as it was in 1850 and 1870 if it was under the same ownership at those dates) is inscribed upon the area assigned to the given farm. This description, however, is limited to the following points: number of acres of improved land; number of acres of unimproved land; value, in dollars, of the land; value of the live stock and machinery combined; and the number of bushels of wheat produced during the previous year. Summaries of other census data are relegated to the text.

The plat itself, therefore, will reveal to the careful reader in outline the pioneer history of the particular township practically from its beginnings to the year 1870, so far as the creation of farms and their improvement is concerned. Since the making of homes on the land was the main feature of all pioneer history, the plat unaided will show how the pioneers of a particular area in Wisconsin subdued the wilderness and laid the social and economic foundations of the civilization of today.

This township plat, however, is only the starting-point in an historical inquiry which will cover a wide range of social, economic, religious, educational, and political facts relating to the area thus defined and mapped. The more detailed account of our plans for the study of these local areas will be taken up later.

There are three points of view from which this plan can be justified: (1) It recognizes that history is well fitted to interest large masses of people if rightly presented, that is, beginning with local and family matters; and it recognizes also the social value of a community background such as history alone can give. (2) It recognizes the desirability, from the standpoint of a state-wide organization, of enlisting the coöperation in historical work of the largest practicable fraction of the people. (3) It establishes the basis for an intensive study of history by localities, which is one sure mode of helping toward the interpretation of the general history of America. These three points will be examined in order.

According to the universal testimony of trained observers, the people generally are not historically minded. They are said to be more prone to act on hearsay or otherwise inferior evidence than to look for or wait for true evidence. It seems unnecessary to produce illustrations to substantiate this conclusion. But it is not so clear that, among the fairly well-educated classes of the community, this unfortunate attitude is due to inherent inability to reason historically. We know that in certain matters of great practical moment to all persons, nearly everybody is disposed to insist upon good evidence. For example, men and women may be incautious to the point of recklessness in purchasing such things as mining stocks; but no one will buy a piece of land without insisting upon actual records establishing the validity of title. In other relations also, such as determining questions of birth, marriage, and death, real evidence is commonly demanded. On account of the universal liability to jury service among men in the past (in the future it will mean both men and women) there is in every community a considerable group of persons more or less skilled in weighing evidence bearing upon cases like those tried in the courts. And we all know that the average man reasons with considerable precision and demands evidence that is genuine, not spurious, in matters which come within the habitual exercise of his business. Participation in

public affairs, local and general, is another means toward training in historical reasoning, at least outside of party politics. It is a safe conclusion that the average citizen is capable of developing historical-mindedness if he has it not. Most people reason critically in at least a few relations. The problem is to make such reasoning habitual instead of sporadic and occasional.

I believe that the best way to proceed in bringing about the change is to begin, wherever possible, with those interests which have already made to the people what amounts to a scientific appeal. Since certain classes of documents, like deeds to land, marriage certificates, records of births and deaths, and court records, are already universally respected, why not make these and other similar documents the starting-point in a series of inquiries calculated to arouse personal activity along historical lines on the part of numbers of our people? Is it not legitimate to look upon a state historical society as an agency for the education of the people in historical ways of thinking as well as an agency for the collection and preservation of the materials of history? Our experience shows that the people respond very well when the appeal comes through reference to personal, family, or local historical matters. We suggested recently a census of old homesteads, that is of farms at least sixty years old which are still in the hands of some member of the family of the pioneer farm-maker. Since the publication in the local newspapers of our request for information about such farms, no day, I think, has passed without bringing us letters from owners of old homesteads, who are glad to send such definite evidence as we require to prove the eligibility of their farms for inclusion in our prospective census. We have had a similar experience in calling the attention of persons working on the subject of early trails to the value of the evidence contained in surveyor's plats. Everybody respects official records concerning land sales, and we are, therefore, calling attention, through our history items prepared for the newspaper press and otherwise, to the value

of the land-office record of land sales as a means of determining approximately the dates of settlement of pioneers of given localities. The census schedules give the age, nationality, place of birth, and occupation of all residents of the state, and we find the people eager to make use of this exact information in order to determine appropriate questions. In a word, it seems not difficult to substitute in the popular mind a demand for better evidence in place of a willingness to accept inferior evidence. Success depends on whether or not the type of evidence proposed is distinctly in line with popular knowledge and occasional usage.

Inquiries like those suggested will reveal in the several localities some persons who, within their limits, are genuine historians. These can be set to work on special problems, and gradually the local historical activities will make the communities engaging in them conscious of their community life as a thing of three dimensions, not merely a matter of length and breadth. The historical backgrounds of the communities ought to become wells of inspiration for literature and art; the study of progress historically should inspire community ideals and reveal modes of advancement and improvement. A few localities in our state have to their credit notable literary or artistic productions. Brookfield, in Waukesha County, can boast Grant Showerman's *A Country Chronicle;* Onalaska, in La Crosse County, figures in Hamlin Garland's writings; two localities in Columbia County are the richer for John Muir's *Story of My Boyhood and Youth.* May we not hope that, by the coöperation of all appropriate agencies, such general historical interest can be aroused that, in the future, a goodly proportion of the two thousand townships of Wisconsin will contribute something to the world to enrich it, and at the same time provide enduring monuments to the communities themselves?

On the question of the desirability, from the standpoint of a state-wide organization, of securing the coöperation in historical work of as large a proportion of the people as possible,

argument is almost superfluous. A public organization, supported by public funds, can succeed only in so far as it demonstrates its value to the taxpayers. If a good share of the public become actual participants in the work planned by the organization, the organization itself is secure; otherwise, not. It goes without saying that local participation must be guided and controlled in the interest of scientific results.

A scheme like the "Wisconsin Domesday Book," which contemplates working out ultimately the history of every township in the state, takes possession of the public imagination in a way to yield very generous and genuine coöperation. This coöperation comes from local historical societies, from the press, from members of the state society everywhere, from the officers of counties and towns, from the county abstractors, from superintendents and principals of schools, and from many others. The work when completed will be the coöperative production of hundreds, or even thousands, of persons.

In the discussion of our plan thus far we have emphasized those values which attach to it as a means of stimulating interest in local history among all the people and of providing an historical background for their community life. These we deem very great, and an ample justification for the expenditures involved in its execution. But that is far from being the whole story. As stated above, our plan makes the basis for an intensive study of history by localities, each so small as to suggest in its study the analogy to the microscopic method so generally used in the natural sciences. This feature of our plan constitutes in many respects a departure, and it promises results of less or greater moment, depending on the insight, enthusiasm, and thoroughness with which it is carried out.

Sir John Lubbock, writing in 1881 of the advance of science, pays a tribute to the microscopic method as a prime agent of progress in the natural sciences during the previous fifty years. "One remarkable feature in the modern progress of biological science," he says, "has been the application of improved methods of observation and experiment; and the

employment in physiological research of the exact measurements employed by the experimental physicist. Our microscopes have been greatly improved: achromatic object-glasses were introduced by Lister in 1829; the binocular arrangement by Wenham in 1856; while immersion lenses, first suggested by Amici, and since carried out under the formula of Abbe, are most valuable. The use of chemical re-agents in microscopical investigations has proved most instructive, and another very important method of investigation has been the power of obtaining very thin slices by imbedding the objects in paraffin or some other soft substance. In this manner we can now obtain, say, fifty separate sections of the egg of a beetle, or the brain of a bee."

Huxley once remarked that "no delusion is greater than that method and industry can make up for mother wit, either in science or in practical life." It would be absurd to suppose that the science of chemistry could have become what it is from the simple ground-work prepared before 1800 by Priestly and Lavoisier, save for the devotion to that science of a series of great intellects — Faraday, Sir Humphrey Davy, Pasteur, Liebig, Bunsen, and Bosanquet — among the rest; that the history of geology can ever be divorced from the names of Hutton, Cuvier, Playfair, and William Smith, of Lyell, Suess, Chamberlin, and Gilbert; and it is impossible even to think of progress in the science of biology apart from the names of Darwin, Wallace, Huxley, and Agassiz. But these men were all masters of the scientific method; and their results, while constituting imperishable monuments to their personal greatness, celebrate likewise the "improved methods of observation and experiment" without which, in the presence of many of the problems now so fully solved, the human intellect must have stood helpless.

It is dangerous to press analogies, but for purposes of illustration something like the microscopic method of science can be applied to history. History, too, has had its periods of

advance, clearly marked by the adoption of new principles of methodology. If we were to single out the two principles which, applied in a variety of ways and by men of every grade of intellect, have been responsible for most of the progress since Herodotus, they would be, I think, (a) actuality of the evidence, and (b) adequacy of the evidence. In the history of history-writing the principle that only actual evidence should be employed was reached by the genius of Thucydides, partly from the fact that he dealt with a contemporaneous problem and extracted his facts from living witnesses. It has been none too easy to maintain that principle, obvious as it is. As to the second, if we are to believe critics and reviewers, very few writers up to now have used it.

Of course that is an exaggeration. Yet, it is true that the works of the world's great historians are nearly all obsolete, and the reason is found in the inadequacy of their evidence — their documents. Sometimes the necessary documents did not exist. Oftener the writer's conception of his problem was such that he utilized only a portion of the documents which were available. Everything turns on the author's insight or his point of view. He may be inclined toward biography and neglect politics; he may stress religious data and omit commerce. Or he may be assiduous in collecting military facts and forget that industry conditions wars. To a Bancroft certain actual documents bearing on the revolutionary rising in the colonies seem adequate to explain the revolution as Bancroft conceived it; to a Channing those documents, and a thousand more, make the basis for a much less dogmatic but far truer account of how the colonists rose in arms against England. A Roosevelt, with a small quantity of unimpeachable documents at his command, will interpret the history of the West in terms largely of its battles and leaders; a Turner, sitting in the midst of a Draper Collection, will interpret it in terms of a specialized frontier psychology, the product of frontier conditions of life. Every researcher detects in his

evidence those things which his mind is prepared to see. Other things he overlooks; and he looks for the kind and quantity of evidence which his theory of the problem confronting him demands. Accordingly, if he wishes to narrate the story of some conspicuous monarch, some general, some great statesman, in a way to emphasize its spectacular features, he will require a certain type of evidence to produce a satisfactory result, as well as a certain literary style. If his aim is to explain the leading features of such a story, or to interpret rather than to narrate, he will require a very different evidential equipment.

The crucial need in historical activity at the present time is a thoroughgoing, far-reaching process of interpretation that shall ultimately bring the world's historical knowledge within manageable compass. Publication along historical lines has gone forward at so stupendous a rate that no reader, however voracious, could possibly have kept pace with it. Carlyle once wrote that a tongue of average velocity could publish at the rate of a stout volume per day; but he added that, fortunately, most of what was uttered by most tongues, voluble and otherwise, was lost to history. Since his time, the machinery for conserving and utilizing material once uttered has been so improved that a much higher percentage of it finds its way into the permanent record. He would be a heroic reader who should undertake to cover, in a single lifetime, the published works bearing upon the World War, to say nothing of what has been published on all the history of the world preceding it.

The fact is, historical thinkers are laboring under a plethora of material, such as it is, and this explains why, in so many cases, they get a false perspective on events. They "cannot see the woods because of the trees." And if the professed historian is a man buried under a mountain of books and finds it impossible to work his way to the surface, the nonprofessional reader and would-be user of history, when he deals with historical materials or reasons from supposed historical facts, is, of course, utterly helpless. These conditions are

beginning to be recognized, and in recent publications we observe a distinct tendency, on the part of some writers, to aim at interpretative rather than narrative history. The difference between the two types mentioned is the difference between a Macaulay's history of England, in five stout volumes, which covers the events of about fifteen years, and a Farrand's history of the United States, in one modest volume, covering the events of a period twenty times as great.

It is true that much invaluable interpretative history was produced from time to time during the period of the most rapid multiplication of historical publications. Every well-informed student of history realizes that the great advances which have been made from time to time toward the understanding of great sections of the historical field are due, in each case, to someone who succeeded in giving a new impetus to historical study by arriving at a new interpretation. Institutional history in Europe is a good illustration. It was great scholars like Fustel de Coulanges in Belgium, Thudichum in Germany, Bishop Stubbs in England, and others, whose patient, minute, and painstaking researches within restricted fields are mainly responsible for the results. In American historiography the last thirty years have witnessed an extraordinary shifting of the emphasis from the more exalted phase of political history, coupled with the history of military affairs, to the investigation and explanation of the economic and social life of the people. No one any longer writes American history as George Bancroft wrote it. No one today pretends to teach the history of the United States, even to grade school pupils, without paying some attention to the everyday homely life of men and women in every period, which, as we now see, influenced powerfully not merely local politics but state politics, national politics, and world politics as well.

Corresponding to the change just noted, there has been a change in the character of the materials out of which history has been constructed. To a Bancroft the writings of generals and of presidents and of cabinet members, together with the

records of the United States Congress and the records of the revolutionary state governments, constitute the stuff of history. To a present-day historian such materials are still valuable, but they must be supplemented by other material laboriously gleaned from the governmental departments, the administrative offices of the states, the records of counties, the business ledgers of plantation owners or of merchants, and multitudinous typical utterances of plain men and women.

The effect of the changed attitude of American historians upon the responsibility of the reader who aims to keep up with historical writing is marked. Time was when it would have been necessary to read some scores of volumes in order to know what had been said upon the slavery question. Today, since the epoch-making local researches of Professor Phillips, it is necessary only to read a volume. And, whereas the reader of twenty years ago, after reading all that was available, would still have been in the dark as to many vitally important points bearing upon the subject, the present-day reader comes away from his volume with the conviction that he understands what took place. A minute, careful, intensive study — in effect, a microscopic study — of the slavery question from the standpoints of its social and economic factors has yielded this new and superlatively desirable result. And just as the old South has come to be understood through such studies, so the new West has come to be understood through the more notable researches of Professor Turner, whose "Significance of the Frontier," published less than thirty years ago, was in fact the starting-point for a revision of American history as a whole.

In a recent address, Professor Turner told how he and a few other graduate students of history at Johns Hopkins were incited to undertake what were regarded at the time as rather revolutionary studies, by a remark of Herbert B. Adams that the field of American history had then (about 1888) been practically exhausted, and that historians of the future would

be well advised to devote their energies to European history. A generation has passed, and historical activity on the American theater has been more intense than ever. But would anyone make a similar assertion today, after all that has been done in the interim? The American field, we perceive, is not even yet "exhausted." On the contrary, new vistas are constantly opening to the inventive and thoughtful student, and especially new opportunities to make studies from new points of departure that shall help to simplify American history by interpreting portions of it aright. Personally, I believe that one of these opportunities lies in the minute study of areas so small as to bring into the focus of the investigator the actual social cell life, the individual men and women who compose the average American community. Our plan, as has been said, takes the organized town, usually within the limits of a surveyor's township of six miles square, as the typical area. And within that area it aims to give the student a glimpse at least of the individual settler and of his family.

About the results of investigations which will be made on this new local basis, we can as yet only prophecy, save that we have many encouraging analogies. We know what Thudichum learned from the study of the Wetterau district; what light has been shed on general history by studies of a single monastery or a given manor whose records happened to be preserved or the gild of a single town. Such studies have remade history in the older world, because they revealed the typical life forces and their modes of operation — a kind of social circulation of the blood, or play of the gastric juice. And, as the biologist obtains his results by making "fifty separate sections of the egg of a beetle, or the brain of a bee," so our method of cutting up our state into two thousand minute portions and putting each under the lens ought to yield results also. It should prove possible to learn something about the origins of social forces that modify history and to gauge their strength under varying conditions. We may even hope to learn how beneficial social or economic tendencies

are promoted and what prophylaxis nature provides against tendencies which are socially untoward.

To illustrate, let us take the subjects of immigration and emigration, heretofore treated "by and large" but never on the basis of the study of numerous individual cases. Our plat shows who lived in the given town in 1860, and the dates of their purchases of land. The census will tell where the people were born. In some cases county histories give brief biographies of early settlers, which will help, but with the aid of local agencies it will not be difficult to learn in most cases where the pioneers came from, what caused them to emigrate from their former homes, why they selected this township as a new home, and what were the special conditions surrounding the early home here. A valuable fund of such material is drifting in constantly, with no special effort on our part, in connection with our census of old homesteads. The character of the incoming settlers at different epochs will be an interesting fact to ascertain because it will throw light on the problem of assimilation. A still more valuable study, because a potentially more complete one, can be made of the conditions causing emigration from the town at various times. The process will be found going on in every period from the first settlement. But there will be years, or successions of years, when emigrating activity will be especially great. like 1849–50, the years following the Civil War, the era of the early eighties when the movement to Dakota was at its height, and the more recent period with its rush to the cities as well as into the West. By taking another cross section at the year 1890 and a third at 1920 we divide the history of the settlement approximately into generations, and we can follow the process of migration from the beginning to the present.

Queries like the following will arise: How far was the emigration of a given family, once settled here, due to purely personal motives — like the desire to wander or (to use a phrase rendered historical by Thomas Hooker in speaking of

the emigrants to Connecticut) "the strong bent of their spirits to go thither"? How far was it due to social considerations which made the family's continuance in this community undesirable; how far was it due to social attractions elsewhere, like the presence of friends or relatives in the region to which the family emigrated? How far was it due to economic causes, and what were those causes? Did they move because the land in their farm was poor or insufficient to enable them to keep abreast socially of more fortunate neighbors who had secured better or larger tracts — because, like Dick Garland, they "were crowded against the hills"? Was the change prompted by the opportunity to sell at an advantageous price, the desire to get out of ordinary farming and to assume a new role as western wheat-growers or cattle-ranchers, or the desire to go into some other line of business? By comparison of results from the study of several towns or a number of towns somewhat differently circumstanced, it will also be possible to determine how far, in some cases, emigration was prevented or held back by features of the social organization, such as good schools, churches, literary clubs, or neighborhood sociability; also, how far economic reorganization — the adoption of new agricultural methods (for example, coöperative dairying) — stopped the process of emigration and gave stability to the community, making even the owners of the smaller and poorer farms satisfied to remain.

Of special interest will be the inquiry as to how the emigrating family prospered in the new home. Was it able to raise its relative social status? If it improved its condition on a new frontier, has that relative improvement been maintained under maturer social and economic conditions? In the making of America, under the régime of free lands or cheap lands, no principle is more significant than that the frontier always offered "another chance" to the unfortunate or the unprosperous. We have come to take it for granted that the resultant American population, from that fact, is far superior to

what it otherwise would be. Yet, this generalization is questioned today, especially by certain prominent economists, and I fear the historians are not prepared with complete data to maintain their contention. Local studies which would follow the fortunes of emigrating families are needed to clear up the question.

Associated with the problem of emigration, is the following question in agricultural history: Who, locally, has been responsible for introducing improvements in farming? Has it been the owners of the big farms or the owners of the little farms? Has necessity been "the mother of invention," or have changes come about through outside leadership?

Our plan will make possible a test of the efficiency of local institutions and will reveal the conditions of efficiency. Taking the question of education, for example, we shall be able to make an actual, first-hand study of the results of school training (coupled with the other educational agencies of the locality, including the apprenticeship of children to the trades of farming and housekeeping) in the character and efficiency of the younger generation. The inquiries that suggest themselves are endless. What proportion of the children educated under a given set of conditions turned out to be successful men and women on the local plane; what proportion succeeded in professional or industrial life abroad? Was it the local school, or some other local influence, which stimulated the genius of that boy or girl who has risen to fame in the literary or artistic world? Such and such a proportion of the pupils of X district ultimately went to college. Query: Why was the proportion from Y district so much lower? Through a comparison of the results of the study of education in a number of townships over a considerable period of time, it ought to be possible to arrive at some rational notion as to what constitutes a good school. In the present agitation of the educational problem, such a result would be at least not uninteresting.

Another topic that will occur to anyone who considers the plan is the history of religion and, associated with it, the history of morals. Let one propound to himself the query, "Does morality depend upon the religious sanction?" and it will at once appear how serviceable these local studies might become. The history of local politics will throw much light on general politics. "I should make," says Professor Turner, "in selected areas, detailed study of the correlations between party votes, by precincts, wards, etc., soils, nationalities and state-origins of the voter, assessment rolls, denominational groups, illiteracy, etc. What kind of people tend to be Whigs, what Democrats, or Abolitionists, or Prohibitionists, etc.? This can be ascertained by such studies, and it would be the first time such correlations have been worked out on any considerable scale." Perhaps the closest analogues to our surveyor's plats among present-day European devices are the ground charts (*grundkarten*), so extensively used in some countries. Professor Lamprecht, in summarizing the advantages of these, says, after speaking of their utility in a variety of historical enterprises: "The most general significance of ground charts one will have to look for in this, that they introduce the geographical *moment,* in every acceptation of that term, into the historical investigation."[2] That is the theoretical form of what Professor Turner expresses so well in concrete terms.

It may be objected that much of what has been suggested above smacks of either economics or sociology. The answer is, if this be sociology, make the most of it. Economics and sociology are, to a very large extent, applied history. Has not the student of history a right to make his own applications of the results which his studies reveal, provided he is equipped for social or economic reasoning? Whether the historian makes the applications or not, his results must be in such form as to enable the students of modern progress to apply them.

2 "Zur Organization des Grundkartenforschung," in *Deutsche Geschichtsblätter,* vol. 1, no. 2 (November, 1899).

Speaking modestly, and subject to correction, I believe that a large part of the inconclusive reasoning to be found in many treatises on economics, sociology, and political science is due to the incompleteness and inconclusiveness of the work of historians which must necessarily underlie such reasoning. The more thoroughgoing and accurate the interpretation of history can be made, the simpler will be the problem of charting the course along which society is to move in the future.

JOSEPH SCHAFER

STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF WISCONSIN
MADISON

THE 1921 ANNUAL MEETING OF THE MINNESOTA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

The annual meeting of the Minnesota Historical Society on January 17, 1921, was a departure from precedent. Previous meetings, as a rule, have consisted merely of a business session followed by the annual address. This year, in the hope of attracting a larger attendance, especially from outside the Twin Cities, by a more extensive and varied program, arrangements were made for sessions extending throughout the day, and the results were such as to justify the change.

The meeting opened at 10:00 A. M. with a "Conference on Historical Activities in Minnesota," which was held in the auditorium of the society's building and was attended by about thirty-five people. The first subject taken up was "The Historical Work of Hereditary and Patriotic Societies," which was presented by Mr. Willoughby M. Babcock Jr., curator of the society's museum. Mr. Babcock pointed out that numerous organizations in Minnesota are engaged in some sort of historical work and that prominent among them, naturally, are the hereditary and patriotic societies. Correlation and coördination of these activities with the work of the state historical society must be accomplished, however, if the field of Minnesota history is to be covered thoroughly. As one means of bringing the various groups into touch with the state society, he suggested institutional memberships in that society, so that a network of organizations interested in local history may be built up throughout Minnesota. A scheme for the division of the field of Minnesota history might be worked out, by means of which these various groups could each concentrate upon one phase and make possible the systematic study of the whole subject under the direction of the Minnesota Historical Society. The work of marking the historic sites in each community and of investigating, collecting, preserving, and publishing the rec-

ords and archives of the state and its subdivisions should be undertaken with vigor by these well-organized and active societies. In other states the hereditary and patriotic societies, recognizing the need for trained historical workers, have provided research funds to be expended under the direction of the state historical agency. Thus far the Minnesota Historical Society has not been able to publish much of its valuable source material, such as the journals of Major Taliaferro, the Indian agent at Fort Snelling from 1819 to 1840, or the Sibley Papers, because of lack of funds. By providing the money for the publication of such material, the hereditary and patriotic societies would be rendering signal service to the cause of Minnesota history.

Mr. R. W. G. Vail, the society's librarian, spoke next on "The Field for Local and Special Historical Societies." He said that the easiest way to interest people in the preservation and use of historical material is to begin at home, and he advocated the use of such agencies as schools, churches, libraries, women's clubs, rotary clubs, farmers' organizations, and fraternal orders to promote the organization and development of a local historical society in each community. Such societies, he said, should be particularly active in preserving the township and county records, which in so many places have been allowed to remain in unsafe and inadequate quarters, where they are neither protected from fire nor available for consultation. Local historical societies should also assume the responsibility for preserving complete files of all local newspapers, in order that future students of the history of the town or county may find the materials which they need most for their work. This task is so great that no state society can well afford the large expense of caring for files of all the newspapers of the state. The local society also should see that vital records are carefully preserved. During the war many people found it necessary to locate their birth records in order to secure passports. In hundreds of cases they discovered that, though these records were made at the time, no agency had

cared to insure their preservation and they had been destroyed. Local societies should preserve not only public records and newspapers but also the correspondence, diaries, account books, and other records of the individuals of the community. They should collect typical examples of utensils and other objects illustrative of life in the early days, not forgetting to save significant material of their own time. This material is as necessary as the public records if the student of the community's past is to reconstruct with any accuracy the development of its life.

In many localities, said Mr. Vail, there are special groups interested in the history and development of a particular phase of the communal life. These have excellent opportunities, because of their special knowledge and interests, to preserve the history of the work done in their own group or their own field of activity. Such are the various foreign language communities found in every state, the many religious groups, and the bodies of people interested in the development of a special trade or industry. They should not forget to record their own history as it is made and should be encouraged to form historical societies for the preservation of that part of their state's history with which they are most intimately concerned. These special historical societies should also coöperate with the state society in the preservation of their own history. They should see that their manuscript and published records are carefully saved. Correspondence, advertising material, periodicals published by their group, photographs illustrative of their history, prospectuses, propaganda, sermons, tracts, and circulars — all should be preserved.

The speaker placed particular emphasis on the need of close coöperation between the smaller societies and the state society. The local societies, he said, should look to the state society for useful suggestions as to what to collect and how to make it of the greatest possible use to the community. They should make every effort to preserve in some safe place, such as a corner in the local library, armory, or courthouse, the detailed and

intimate records of the growth of their particular communities; but such records as have a state-wide importance should be sent to the state historical society for preservation, thus making them available to all scholars interested in the state's history. The state society, on the other hand, should not try to secure the distinctly local material in such communities as have local societies, but should keep an accurate record of the collections of such societies and at all times coöperate in building them up.

The general discussion was then opened by Dr. Joseph Schafer, superintendent of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin. Dr. Schafer took up first the matter of marking historic sites and trails, told of the work being done by the Daughters of the American Revolution in Wisconsin, and pointed out that this organization, with chapters in various parts of the state, is in a position to make a complete survey of the opportunities for the marking of the old trails and the sites of historic events, of old forts, and of Indian mounds. He expressed approval of the suggestion that hereditary and patriotic societies should undertake to promote the publication of historical material and called attention to the valuable work in that field already done by the national society of the Daughters of the American Revolution. He thought that use might be made also of pioneer societies as a basis for the promotion of effective historical work and told how the Oregon Historical Society had been an outgrowth of the pioneer spirit in that state.

Dr. Schafer considered that the great mass of the people might be given the historical point of view through the schools. Most people are tremendously interested in themselves, in their families, and in what their relatives have done, and by taking advantage of these natural interests it would be possible to build up historical-mindedness among the people of our own and the next generation. He gave as an example an account of his experience in a school in Oregon with a questionnaire designed to bring out information about personal and family history and the location of letters, documents, and clippings,

and photographs of past and present homes. The result, he said, was a very complete history of the movements of parents, who came perhaps from Massachusetts, stopped in Ohio, Michigan, or Minnesota, and then crossed the plains. He told also of the experiment of the Wisconsin Historical Society in collecting information about old homesteads in the state which had been in the same family for sixty years. A request for such information, published in the papers, brought prompt responses from large numbers of people, with the result that much valuable historical material was collected. It was demonstrated that, by an appeal to their personal pride and their interest in themselves and their families, people can readily be induced to participate in historical work.

Mrs. Frank Jerrard, chairman of the Sibley House committee of the Minnesota Daughters of the American Revolution, then told of the work of that organization in restoring the old Sibley House at Mendota and assembling in it an historical museum. This house, the oldest building in Minnesota which was used as a residence, was built by Henry Hastings Sibley, who later became the first governor of the state, and it also served temporarily as the first executive office of the territory, being used by Governor Ramsey for that purpose in 1849. In 1910, through the recommendation of the late Archbishop Ireland, the house and two lots were deeded by the St. Peter's Parish of Mendota to the St. Paul chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution, with the understanding that the house should be restored and used for historic purposes. The chapter then deeded it to the state organization so that all the chapters might help in the work of making the place "the Mount Vernon of Minnesota." The old house, of which little except the walls remained, was restored, as nearly as possible, to its original condition. The rooms were equipped with furnishings of the type it contained when occupied by General Sibley, including some of the original pieces, and many museum objects illustrative of the pioneer period

were installed. Eight and a half lots adjacent to the place were later acquired by the St. Paul chapter and added to its original gift, and the land is being laid out as a park. The success of this enterprise is shown by the fact that over three thousand people visit the Sibley House every year. The leader in the work at the start was the late Mrs. D. W. MacCourt, to whom too much credit cannot be given. Her work was followed by that of Mrs. Cyrus H. Wells, Mrs. George C. Squires, and Mrs. James T. Morris, and now, under the leadership of Mrs. Marshall Coolidge, the Sibley House Association looks forward to a glorious future.

Miss Mary V. Carney, instructor in history in Central High School, St. Paul, spoke of the necessity of arousing historical interest early in life and of the use which could be made of the schools in this connection. She suggested the placing of an historical museum for the community in the school building as an excellent means to this end, or, when this is not feasible, the arrangement of a temporary historical exhibit in connection with the celebration of some anniversary such as May 11 — statehood day. The teachers, however, would need the coöperation and assistance of the people interested in history, for most of them have no special training for work of this sort and, being newcomers in the community, do not know where the desirable material could be found. The children would become interested in locating historic objects and in arranging the exhibit. Some of them could make models of such things as a birch bark canoe and a Red River cart, thus illustrating the development of transportation. Those who contributed to the exhibit would be sure to come and bring their friends, and the interest aroused might lead to the establishment of a local historical society for the permanent preservation of historical material.

The second session, held also in the auditorium, began at 2:00 P. M. and was devoted to the reading of historical papers. Professor William Anderson of the University of Minnesota

read the first paper, which was entitled "Minnesota Territorial Politics and the Constitutional Convention."[1] The Minnesota constitution of 1857, he said, was drawn up and adopted, not as the result of calm and impartial deliberation, but in the smoke and the din of a bitter partisan contest. The struggle was highly complicated. Minnesota Territory was to be divided in order that the most populous portion might be admitted to the Union as a state. This raised the whole question of boundaries on the west and the north. Then there was the strife of parties, the newly organized Republicans against the numerous but poorly regimented Democrats. Minnesota has probably never seen partisanship more rancorous and violent than at this time. The clash of sectional and economic interests was also present. The newly settled counties south of the Minnesota River and west of the Mississippi were predominantly agricultural and Republican. They were underrepresented in the legislative assembly and later in the constitutional convention, and they were without any of the important territorial institutions. Naturally they were resentful of the dominance of St. Paul, St. Anthony, and Stillwater in the affairs of Minnesota. These three towns were distant from southern Minnesota and all were east of the Mississippi; they were predominantly Democratic; and they had monopolized the chief territorial institutions, the capitol, the university, and the prison. Their interests were in lumbering, the fur trade, and general commerce quite as much as in agriculture. It was the wish of the leaders in southern Minnesota to have an agricultural state stretching westward to the Missouri River but reaching northward to a parallel just a little above St. Paul. In such a state St. Peter hoped to become the capital and Winona the seat of the university, while the rival towns of St. Paul, St. Anthony, and Stillwater would be isolated in the northeastern corner. The railroads would be built to run

[1] The substance of this paper has been embodied in the author's book entitled *A History of the Constitution of Minnesota,* which is reviewed *post,* pp. 41–44.

from Winona and La Crescent westward to the Missouri. On the other hand the leaders in the St. Paul region desired a Minnesota of diversified resourses and industries, stretching northward to the Canadian boundary but westward only to a line running from Canada southward along the Red River of the North to and through Lakes Traverse and Big Stone and thence to the Iowa line, and served by a system of railroads radiating out from St. Paul, the capital, and St. Anthony, the seat of the university. The story of the adoption of the Minnesota constitution and of the admission of the state to the Union is the dramatic unravelling of the plot the details of which are here only suggested.

The St. Paul region had all the advantages in the struggle, said Professor Anderson. The territorial organic act made St. Paul the capital. This little area was ideally located to be the railroad center of the proposed north and south state. Its chief citizen, Henry M. Rice, was the territorial delegate to Congress, was himself financially interested in St. Paul's prosperity and in making it a railroad center, and had the ear of the dominant party in Congress. He succeeded in getting Congress to pass an enabling act which divided Minnesota Territory by the north and south line sketched above and also in procuring a railroad land grant which made St. Paul the railroad center of the proposed state. Defeated in Washington, the southern Minnesota interests tried, early in 1857, with the aid of Governor Gorman, to forestall Rice's further success by immediately removing the capital to St. Peter; but they failed under the most exciting circumstances. In pursuance of the enabling act the members of the constitutional convention were elected on June 1, 1857, but the sectional cleavage and party bitterness created an atmosphere of such intense suspicion that the convention was split into two sections, Democratic and Republican. For seven weeks these bodies sat separately in opposite wings of the capitol at St. Paul. In the end they avoided further strife and possible bloodshed by agreeing to submit the same constitution to the people, though

two copies were made and each party signed its own copy. The Republicans and southern Minnesota had been defeated on almost every point. They lost in the boundary dispute, the location of the capital, the railroad land grant, and in practically everything else that they held dear, and they also lost the first state election. The Democrats even wrote most of the constitution. The Republicans succeeded, however, in writing into the constitution a very liberal amending clause, and from the time they took control of the state government in 1860 down to 1898, when the amending process was changed, they not only governed the state almost without break but they also wrote forty-six amendments into the constitution.

"Cleng Peerson and Norwegian Immigration" was the subject of the second paper, which was read by Professor Theodore C. Blegen of Hamline University.[2] The beginnings of nineteenth century Norwegian immigration, he said, are associated with Cleng Peerson, who in 1821 and again in 1824 came to America as the "advance agent" of those Norwegians who in 1825 crossed the Atlantic to found a settlement or colony in western New York. In 1833 Peerson explored the Central West, and in the following year he guided the pioneer group of Norse settlers in the West to a site which he had selected in the fertile Fox River Valley in Illinois. During three decades, from 1821 to 1850, Cleng Peerson was active as an immigrant leader, stimulating immigration and founding new settlements; in 1838 and again in 1842, he returned to Norway as a conscious propagandist of the movement. By nature a restless searcher for new frontiers, he made his way, in 1849, to Texas, and the next year he led to the South a group of Illinois settlers. In Texas Peerson lived from 1850 until his death in 1865 at the age of eighty-three.

The basis of his study, said Professor Blegen, was evidence, gleaned from several Peerson letters and a number of official documents and newspaper sources, which throws new light

[2] This paper is printed in full in the March, 1921, issue of the *Mississippi Valley Historical Review.*

on several much controverted points with regard both to Peerson himself and to the motives of the early emigration from Norway. While Peerson's eccentric personality and Peer Gynt nature have caused a haze of legend and uncertainty to envelop his name, unimpeachable documentary evidence proves that he was the pathfinder of the first group emigration from Norway to the United States, that he was the leader of the vanguard of the great Norwegian migration to the American West, and that his incessant travels, his reports of conditions, and his personal influence affected the course and gave impetus to the progress of the whole movement in the first twenty-five years of its history. In short, one must recognize in this curious leader of immigrants and restless follower of the frontier the trail-blazer of a population movement which, since 1825, has brought to America more than seven hundred thousand Norwegians.

The last paper of the program, by Professor John D. Hicks of Hamline University, was on "The Political Career of Ignatius Donnelly."[3] Donnelly, said Professor Hicks, is known to literature as one of the ablest defenders of the theory that Bacon wrote Shakespeare, to archeology as a convincing expounder of the truth of Plato's Atlantis fable, to science as the author of a unique explanation of the geological formations of the drift age by contact of comets with the earth, and to American politics as the ardent advocate of practically every third party or reform organization that made its appearance between the close of the Civil War and the beginning of the twentieth century. He was one of that "border fringe of lunacy" of whom Theodore Roosevelt spoke — a convinced champion of every forward movement, but so utterly impractical as to be worse than useless in advancing the fortunes of even the most laudable reforms. From the date of his first appearance in politics in 1857 until the date of his death in

[3] This paper was a condensation of a larger study with the same title which is to appear in the issue of the *Mississippi Valley Historical Review* for June–September, 1921.

1901, no campaign within the state of Minnesota was complete without Donnelly in the role of champion of some new and untried reform. Antimonopolist, Greenbacker, Democrat, Republican, and Populist in turn, he was supremely indifferent always to change of party or even of opinion, and consistent only in this — that he always urged the success of those reforms and of that party which to his mind gave most promise of bettering the conditions of the ordinary man.

The business session of the society convened in the auditorium at 4:00 P. M. The principal business transacted, in addition to the presentation of reports of the treasurer and the superintendent,[4] was the election of thirty life members of the society to serve as members of the executive council for the triennium 1921-24. The following were elected: Everett H. Bailey, John M. Bradford, the Reverend William Busch, Oliver Crosby, William W. Cutler, Frederic A. Fogg, Mrs. Charles E. Furness, Harold Harris, Frederick G. Ingersoll, Gideon S. Ives, William H. Lightner, Charles P. Noyes, Victor Robertson, Edward P. Sanborn, Charles Stees, Warren Upham, Olin D. Wheeler, and Edward B. Young of St. Paul; Clarence W. Alvord, Solon J. Buck, William W. Folwell, Guy Stanton Ford, Herschel V. Jones and Mrs. James T. Morris of Minneapolis; Lorin Cray of Mankato; Michael J. Dowling of Olivia; Burt W. Eaton of Rochester; Victor E. Lawson of Willmar; William A. McGonagle of Duluth; and Willis M. West of Grand Rapids.

At the close of the business session of the society, the new executive council, which includes six state officers, ex officio, in addition to the members elected, met in the superintendent's office and elected the following officers of the society for the triennium: Frederic A. Fogg, president; William W. Folwell, first vice president; Frederick G. Ingersoll, second vice president; Solon J. Buck, secretary; and Everett H. Bailey, treasurer.

[4] The substance of the superintendent's report is embodied in the *Twenty-first Biennial Report* of the society.

The most notable event of the meeting was the subscription dinner in honor of Dr. William W. Folwell, which was held in the reading room of the Historical Building at 6:00 P. M. The occasion of the dinner was the completion of the first volume of Dr. Folwell's *History of Minnesota,* then in press; and the attendance of over two hundred taxed the available space. The retiring president of the society, the Honorable Gideon S. Ives, presented as toastmaster the Honorable J. A. O. Preus, Governor of Minnesota, whose apt introductions of the speakers contributed to the interest of the occasion. The first toast was by Dr. Lotus D. Coffman, president of the University of Minnesota, who told of Dr. Folwell's service in promoting the development of high schools and building up a unified system of public education in the state. The next speaker was Professor Clarence W. Alvord, editor of the *Mississippi Valley Historical Review,* whose toast follows:

When it was proposed to me that on this most honorable occasion and in the presence of this notable assembly I make an after-dinner speech, my first inclination was to return the answer of the impecunious darky when asked to change a ten dollar bill — "I thank ye for the compliment," he said — for I am impecunious in the light and airy art of after-dinner speaking. Were I a statesman as Governor Preus is, or a university president as is Dr. Coffman, then by native ability and by long practice I should have become a master of this popular art. But instead of learning to speak to men after dinner, when smug satisfaction has prepared the mind to laughter at the most antique of jokes, unkind fate has forced me to associate with dusty tomes, illegible manuscripts, and antique documents, to make companions of men whose mortal remains have long since turned to dust and whose deeds, both good and ill, the kind hand of oblivion has covered with the deep forgetfulness of generations. Instead of serving new scandals after dinner, I have labored to revive old scandals and dress them up that they might be made palatable to the satiated taste of the modern reader.

But when I learned that it was not the ordinary after-dinner speech that was expected from me, that I was being asked to

say a few words about the work of a fellow craftsman whose field of labor has lain for years almost contiguous to the one I had been cultivating, I accepted the invitation with eagerness; and I appear here tonight to give greetings from all true worshippers of the muse Clio to my companion in dusty tomes and antique documents, Dr. Folwell.

You are tonight not Colonel Folwell as your soldiers knew you; nor Professor Folwell as your students knew you; nor President Folwell as your faculty and the world have long known you; but Historian Folwell, who has told the story of the development of this great state of Minnesota for your own and future generations to read. We, your fellow craftsmen and fellow citizens, are gathered here tonight that we may honor ourselves by showing you our appreciation of this magnificent accomplishment.

The writing of a state history is not the easy job that it was in former years, when the average local history was the amateurish work of some retired lawyer or broken-down politician, who, out of his inner consciousness, with no thought of historical criticism, wove his web of narrative. The product of the modern scientific historian differs from such amateurish work as much as Milton's "Paradise Lost" differs from a sophomoric effusion in the *Minnesota Daily*. The easy days of history writing are no more. Clio makes greater demands upon her worshippers. They are now associated, so to speak, into an established church; to their goddess they have raised an altar at which they perform a solemn service, with genuflections and processionals, with oil and frankincense, occult ceremonies to inspire awe in the multitude; all is more or less esoteric in character; at least the uninitiated finds difficulty in making his way to the inner shrine. I mean by this symbolism that historians in their effort to make history a science have evolved a complex method of research that is highly technical in its processes and scientific in its spirit.

Within the inner circle of historians Dr. Folwell belongs. He has produced a work that maintains all the canons of historical scholarship. His mind is critical; hearsay and tradition do not satisfy it; the truth as found in contemporary narrative or document has laid the basis of his history. Information has been sought in every conceivable source. He has not neglected the monographs of other historians, but laboriously has he sought out their writings buried in hundreds of magazines, pro-

ceedings of learned societies, and other books. His footnotes sometimes take the form of little essays on the source material, and very valuable they will prove themselves to the studious. Minnesota is to be congratulated on possessing a history of herself that will take its place on the shelves of libraries as a product of a modern historian, a veritable high priest of Clio who is a thorough master of her worship and of the philosophy of her creed; few states of our Union can make a similar boast.

But Dr. Folwell possesses a great advantage over the average historian. He is, as I have said, a trained historian; but at the same time he can quote concerning the events of which he writes the words of Aeneas, *et quorum pars magna fui.* His has been an active life; he has associated intimately with the men who have made Minnesota, and from him has issued a force that has aided in the development of the state. Thus he writes with a surety derived from a knowledge of the men and of the events that gives to his narrative a life that is so often lacking in historical works. Personally I have been charmed with his production, and I believe that many readers will find in it a quality in scholarship and literary style that will make the reading of it a long remembered pleasure.

In closing, Dr. Folwell, let me, as a representative of the historical fraternity, congratulate you on the completion of this history. By this most recent work of scholarship you have added to the glory that you had already won as soldier, professor, university president, and leader in all movements to promote the best interests of your city and state.

Mr. Frederick G. Ingersoll then told of Dr. Folwell's relations with the Minnesota Historical Society and pointed out the importance of the work which the society has done and is doing in collecting and preserving the materials on which such contributions to the knowledge of the past as that which Dr. Folwell is producing must be based. The services of the guest of honor as president of the university were described by Mr. Fred B. Snyder, one of his former students and now president of the board of regents of the university. To these toasts Dr. Folwell responded with a sparkling address, in which he told of some of his experiences in the investigation of interesting and humorous incidents in Minnesota history.

The last session of the meeting, which was held in the auditorium in the evening, was devoted to the annual address. Dr. Joseph Schafer, superintendent of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin, was the speaker and his subject was "The Microscopic Method as Applied to History." This address, which is printed elsewhere in this number of the BULLETIN, dealt with the problems and possibilities of intensive historical work in all the townships of a state and told something of the plans of the Wisconsin Historical Society for such work.

NOTES AND DOCUMENTS

CORRESPONDENCE OCCASIONED BY THE DINNER IN HONOR OF DR. FOLWELL

Many people who were unable to attend the dinner given by the Minnesota Historical Society on January 17, 1921, in honor of Dr. Folwell and in celebration of the completion of the first volume of his *History of Minnesota* wrote letters expressing their sentiments on the occasion. A selection from these letters is printed here. Mr. Ames, the writer of the first letter, had been scheduled to give one of the toasts at the dinner.

From Mr. Charles W. Ames, St. Paul[1]

It is a great disappointment to me that temporary disability will prevent my being present at your important annual meeting this evening. I have not been able for several years to take part in the deliberations and activities of the Historical Society, but I have not weakened in my appreciation of the importance of those activities to the State. I would like to share my testimony to the Governor and the representatives of the Legislature on that occasion as to the imperative importance of giving to the Historical Society the support called for by your pamphlet Budget of December, 1920. Under your wise and energetic administration the Historical Society has been so organized that Minnesota may hold her own among the States of the Union in preserving for posterity the records of her progress, economic, social and political, and the patriotic efforts and achievements of many good citizens in public office and out of it.

The Legislature will fail lamentably in its duty to itself and to the tax payers, if it does not provide the modest sum required to maintain and make effective the great Institution now housed so magnificently in the Historical Society building. I commend

[1] See *post*, p. 63.

most heartily the great movement for public economy as the chief means of "bringing us back to normalcy"; but it would be false economy to cripple the Historical Society by giving it substantially less than the $50,000 covered by your budget of requirements. (I assume, of course, that you can substantiate your estimates to the satisfaction of the Appropriations Committee, and show that the amounts are really necessary and will be wisely administered.)

In a true perspective of our public expenditures, the Historical Society appropriations are, in proportion to their small amount, among the most meritorious. The founders of our State were foresighted in organizing our Society at the very dawn of our political history. Surely, it is for us to take full advantage of their prevision.

But, it is my chief disappointment that I shall be unable to do my part in paying respect in person to your distinguished guest at the dinner. There is no man living to whom I would more gladly pay honor than Dr. William Watts Folwell. If I called him the Nestor of Minnesota, I might seem to be twitting him with his years. Somehow his years have made so little impression on him that they are not much noticed by his friends. His mind is always alert and his interest in all that goes on about him is as keen as with any of us youngsters.

It is characteristic of Dr. Folwell that he should be devoting his leisure and his maturity to the monumental task of making a compendious history of Minnesota. Surely, no one is better qualified than he for that work, especially as the most important half century of that history has taken place under his personal observation.

Fortunate is the Society, fortunate is the State, that its annals are to be recorded and interpreted wisely and impartially by this trained historian, ripe scholar, brave soldier, and good citizen. We are all looking forward eagerly and expectantly to his completed work. Surely the funds will be provided for its publication whatever may happen to the rest of your budget.

Dr. Folwell also is to be congratulated on the opportunity of crowning a long life of service in this way. Pray give him assurance of my regard, admiration, esteem, and affection.

FROM DR. MARION L. BURTON, PRESIDENT OF THE UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

How I wish I could be present and extend my greetings and congratulations in person to President Folwell, but since this is impossible and since I must decline your invitation, I do want to send a word of most emphatic and hearty congratulations.

I regard President Folwell as one of the rarest men that Minnesota has claimed as a citizen. I have been impressed repeatedly by the modernity of his mind and the almost prophetic vision which he had of the future of education in the State. Permit me, therefore, to share with you and many others in this happy celebration and recognition of one who has meant so much to the great commonwealth of Minnesota.

FROM JUDGE DANIEL L. FISH, MINNEAPOLIS

I regret very much that it will be impossible for me to attend the dinner in honor of Dr. Folwell to be given on the 17th, for if any man is entitled the honor and the affection of his fellows he is that man. We are to be on our way to California on the date named but the occasion will not be forgotten. Will you kindly extend to the guest of the evening our felicitations and warmest regards. And when we return in the spring I shall hope to assure him in person that, in spite of the date-lines, I regard him as the most promising of all my youthful friends.

FROM DR. ALBERT BUSHNELL HART, PROFESSOR OF GOVERNMENT IN HARVARD UNIVERSITY

It is unfortunate that such a trifle as 1,500 miles of distance should separate me from the dinner to Dr. Folwell. It would give me great pleasure to be present and join in paying honor to that nestor of Northwestern educators, the friend and inciter of three generations.

FROM DR. HARRY PRATT JUDSON, PRESIDENT OF THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

I greatly regret that it will be impracticable for me to be present at the dinner for Dr. Folwell. Few things would give me

more pleasure than to have even a small hand in anything that would do him honor. It was my privilege to be for several years one of his colleagues in the Faculty of the University of Minnesota and I learned something of the very wide range of his scholarly attainments and something also of his great devotion to public service. In my opinion Minnesota owes much to him as one of its most eminent and useful citizens.

From Mr. William B. Mitchell, St. Cloud, Minnesota

It is with deep regret that I find myself unable to accept your invitation to attend the complimentary dinner to be given Dr. William Watts Folwell on the evening of January 17. It would give me great pleasure to testify in this way my appreciation of Dr. Folwell from the personal point of view after an acquaintance extending over many years, as well as to the valuable services he has rendered the state as a scholar, a teacher, and a historian. His high character as a citizen has exerted a most wholesome influence, affecting not only his immediate vicinity, but being recognized and appreciated by the entire intelligent body of our citizenship.

It is my sincere hope that Dr. Folwell may be spared to us for many years yet, that he may be able, among other things, to complete the valuable historical work upon which he is now engaged.

From the Honorable Knute Nelson, United States Senator from Minnesota

I exceedingly regret that, on account of my engagements here, I shall be unable to attend the dinner for Dr. Folwell.

I am very glad that your Society is thus honoring him, for he is, and has been, one of the great pioneers in the historical and cultural field of Minnesota.

The State is under great obligations to him for his work and services, and I hope he will be recognized, on some future occasion, in a more formal and emphatic manner.

My earnest hope is that he will continue with us for many years to come.

FROM DR. ALBERT SHAW, EDITOR OF THE AMERICAN REVIEW OF REVIEWS

If it were physically possible for me to attend the dinner in honor of Dr. Folwell on the 17th, I should gladly make the journey. I happen to be in the Post-Graduate Hospital recovering from an illness and an operation, and therefore will not be able to travel for some weeks.

My acquaintance with Dr. Folwell began in the summer of 1883, almost thirty-eight years ago. It was simultaneous with my first visit to Minneapolis. Dr. Folwell at that time, in his characteristic way, performed an act of kindness to me which was one of the turning points in my life. It led to my becoming a resident of Minneapolis in a capacity which occupied me for a number of years. During those years I had the privilege of knowing Dr. Folwell and Mrs. Folwell intimately and of being a constant visitor in their house. Among all the men whom I have known in America and Europe, I have always placed Dr. Folwell with the very foremost in all that inspires respect, admiration and affection. His knowledge was vast in range and solid in foundation. His judgment was always to be relied upon. His public spirit was great, and his service to the State and the city could not well be over-estimated. But above all things to me as a young man was my esteem for Dr. Folwell in his private and personal capacity as the perfect American gentleman. I should be very eager to read his history of Minnesota, and I am profoundly thankful that his health and strength have been preserved so that he could go on with this noteworthy undertaking. Please convey to him my congratulations and my sense of deep gratitude and abiding affection.

FROM THE REVEREND MARION D. SHUTTER, MINNEAPOLIS

I greatly regret that I shall not be able to attend the dinner in honor of Dr. Folwell, as I shall be out of the city on that occasion. Nothing would give me greater pleasure than to be present and help to do him honor. I have known him ever since coming to the city over thirty years ago and hold him as a man, a citizen, and a scholar in the highest esteem. I am glad that he has completed the first volume of his History of Minnesota, and hope that his life and usefulness may be prolonged to finish the work.

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

A History of the Constitution of Minnesota with the First Verified Text (The University of Minnesota, *Studies in the Social Sciences*, no. 15). By WILLIAM ANDERSON, PH. D., assistant professor of political science and director of the bureau for research in government of the University of Minnesota, in collaboration with ALBERT J. LOBB, PH. B., LL.B., comptroller of the university, formerly assistant professor of political science. (Minneapolis, The University of Minnesota, 1921. vii, 323 p. Maps.)

One who has never attempted a critical study of the origin and development of an American state constitution can scarcely appreciate the difficulties which have confronted Professor Anderson in the preparation of this monograph. To explain "when and how the original constitution" of any state "was drawn up and adopted, how it happened to include this and that original provision, and what amendments have been introduced into its text and for what reasons" may be, as the author in this instance modestly asserts, a "limited" task, but it must none the less involve months, and even years, of painstaking labor.

A careful reading of this *History of the Constitution of Minnesota* proves conclusively that the author has exercised all due diligence in its preparation. For example, in order to answer adequately the question, When was the constitution adopted?, he presents three chapters of hand-picked territorial history. Two more are devoted to How?, which, in the case of Minnesota, means the narration of a dramatic story of partisan politics — of a battle so bitter that it resulted in two conventions, one composed of Republicans and one composed of Democrats. Each drew up a constitution, and finally a compromise committee reconciled all differences. Obviously, to separate truth from the noisy fulminations of such a conflict requires the exercise of all the finest arts of the historian.

Probably chapter 6 tackles the most baffling question of all: Why was this and that original provision included? The word

"original" might well be italicized. The writer of this review konws what it means to build up an elaborate theory to explain the origin of some provision apparently new, only to discover later that some versatile delegate had learned how to paraphrase Magna Charta or the Northwest Ordinance in an unusual way. He knows also what it means to find that a trite and oft-copied phrase had for some reason secured a new and startling significance. The author wisely saves himself much labor by refusing "to prepare a statement of the sources from which the various provisions of the original Minnesota constitution were drawn," but his footnote on page 131 is an adequate apology for this omission, if, indeed, an apology is needed. Many provisions which find their way into nearly all our American state constitutions are only slightly varied expressions of a common political heritage; some are even anachronisms, belonging to a remote past and of little or no present significance. It may be that the work of tracing every provision back to its original source "with Teutonic thoroughness" would have unearthed "some stray bits of valuable information," but we doubt it. Laborious enough, and far more useful, is the author's careful analysis in this chapter of the materials turned over to the conference committee by the two conventions — materials from which the constitution was finally drafted. His careful, running commentary on the whole document will be useful, no doubt, as he hopes, to "lawyers, judges, legislators, and public officials generally," as well as to political scientists and historians.

The later chapters have to do with the development of the constitution since the original document was adopted. Here the author has been aided greatly by the work of his colleague, Mr. Lobb, who, according to the original plan, was to have written this part of the book. Other duties, however, prevented, and it devolved upon Professor Anderson to prepare the entire manuscript. The growth of the constitution by textual amendment receives elaborate and complete treatment, and some attention is given also to changes by judicial interpretation and by other means "more subtle and less tangible" (p. 144). It is obvious that the constitution adopted over seventy years ago is not the constitution. But such is not the case with the fundamental law

amended no less than fifty-nine times, the courts have stretched it abundantly to fit new situations, and the gradual changes in customs and traditions have added further transformations. While the author does not claim to have made an exhaustive study of those changes which have come about otherwise than through direct amendment, he has really included a surprising amount of information along this line.

A corrected text of the constitution of Minnesota, which appears as an appendix, is one of the most commendable parts of this volume. Ordinarily it would not be a difficult task to produce from the original copy an authentic version of a state constitution. But such is not the case with the fundamental law of Minnesota, for here the editor must deal with two originals. Furthermore, "it appears from a study of the two documents that the work of copying was divided among a number of men. There are eight distinct handwritings in the document signed by the Democrats. Unfortunately some of the copyists were possessed of little skill in writing and were lacking in knowledge of spelling or punctuation or both. It is evident also that no careful comparison of the two resulting documents was made" (p. 109).

The rules of editing which Professor Anderson has laid down in his endeavor to prepare the most authentic text possible under the circumstances are dictated by common sense, and apparently they have been rigorously adhered to. Instead of following the mistakes of sleepy copyists he has adopted the most commonly accepted spelling of today. He has systematized capitalization, and, with regard to differences between the two versions in punctuation and phraseology, he has exercised his best judgment in choosing to follow the one or the other. The demands of the meticulous are met by a table showing the differences between the Republican and Democratic originals (pp. 270–275), but the average student will be only too glad to accept the editor's opinion without further investigation. A unique feature is the inclusion, with proper identification, of "every provision which at any time has been or which now is a part of the constitution." Those who have labored with the bewildering uncertainties of Thorpe's *Federal and State Constitutions* will know how to appre-

ciate this improvement. It is to be hoped that the writers of textbooks on Minnesota civics and the compilers of state documents will uniformly accept this version.

Other appendixes give the names of the signers of the constitution; a table of proposed amendments with votes upon the same; the Northwest Ordinance, 1787 — not a particularly rare document; the organic act, 1849; the enabling act, 1857; the territorial act providing for the expenses of the convention, 1857; and the act of admission to the Union, 1858. There is a comprehensive bibliography and an unusually complete index. In the earlier part of the volume space is given to several useful maps, and throughout the text proper the multitudinous footnotes attest the scholarly character of the work.

JOHN D. HICKS

Congregational Work of Minnesota, 1832–1920. By many contributors. Edited and partly written by WARREN UPHAM, D. Sc., archaeologist of the Minnesota Historical Society. (Minneapolis, Congregational Conference of Minnesota, 1921. xii, 606 p.)

In 1916 the Minnesota Congregational Conference voted to request a committee consisting of Dr. Warren Upham, the Reverend Edward M. Williams, and Mr. Thomas Hughes to prepare this history of the work of the Congregational Church in Minnesota since the opening of the territory. The result is a volume of over six hundred pages, divided into twenty-four chapters. Seven of these chapters are from the pen of Dr. Upham, the remainder are the work of a large corps of contributors. They have produced a book of major importance for students of the history of Minnesota, and one which is far more than a mere report of denominational activities.

It is inevitable that a work of this kind, covering a great variety of subjects and coming from different hands, should have a somewhat uneven value. Some of the carefully compiled statistical tables are mainly interesting to the present members of the denomination, and the same is true of the discussions of theological changes and the methods of preaching, although the latter constitute an interesting summary of conditions in the

churches far outside of Minnesota. An enormous amount of local history, however, will be found packed into the elaborate lists of "Minnesota pastors" (chapter 16) prepared under the personal direction of Dr. Upham, and of even greater importance for tracing the lives of many communities up and down the state are his careful "Records of the Churches" (chapter 17).

Considering their comparative numerical weakness, it is a just claim for the Congregationalists that in various forms of pioneer work and especially in education they have set a notable example to their sister confessions. The reviewer doubts personally whether any other Protestant missionaries, working upon the lands which subsequently became Minnesota, preceded the Dartmouth graduate, William T. Boutwell, who founded the Leech Lake mission in 1833. In 1843 Oberlin College, another Congregational institution, sent out Frederick Ayer, David B. Spencer, and others of its students to undertake similar missionary work in what was then practically the "farthest west" for ordinary evangelistic enterprise. It is worthy of note, incidentally, that between 1850 and 1920 of 267 Congregational pastors in Minnesota, more than ten per cent were graduates from Dartmouth, Oberlin, and Amherst each, and Yale sent nearly as high a ratio; but Harvard, under alleged Unitarian dominance, made for long no essential contribution.

Minnesota, of course, like the older states of the region, came in for her full share of the home missionary movement, which was the answer to the demand in the eastern communities for the Christianizing of the frontier lands as a means of saving the Republic. As a hymn once energetically sung in New England Sunday schools cogently stated it:

> Far out on the western prairies,
> Ah, many children dwell,
> Who never read the Bible
> Or hear the sabbath bell!

Apparently, however, the first regular Protestant churches to be organized in the young territory of Minnesota were Presbyterian, but in 1850 standardized Congregational societies were started by Charles Seccombe at St. Anthony and by Richard

Hall at Point Douglas, near Cottage Grove on the Mississippi River. In 1856 the first Congregational Conference for Minnesota was assembled at St. Anthony under the presidency of Sherman Hall. It is reported that in a liberal spirit the Presbyterian minister of the little village of Minneapolis was requested to address the gathering. He informed his Congregational friends that in Minneapolis there was no whiskey sold openly and very little drunkenness, but that "the great difficulty with Minneapolis . . . is the excessive worldliness of its people"!

By 1861, the new state of Minnesota contained sixty-four Congregational churches with some fifteen hundred members and with eighteen hundred children in their Sunday schools. They were able to raise about one thousand dollars for "benevolent gifts" outside, of course, of their own local expenses. Subsequently the growth of Congregationalism in Minnesota kept pace with the growth in population and cultural levels of the state. In 1919 there were 224 churches with a membership of 24,337.

The list of Congregationalists who have been master-builders of Minnesota is impressively set forth by Dr. Upham in chapter 20. Whether any other confession could present a longer or worthier list is a question which cannot be answered, but assuredly any church would be glad to begin its catalogue of state worthies with such names as Windom, Pillsbury, and (still rejoicing us by his bodily presence) Cyrus Northrop.

The long and usually well-written chapters on the growth of Sundays schools, Minnesota workers in foreign missions, the denominational finances, the Minnesota Congregational Club, local mission work in the Twin Cities and other parts of the state, and similar subjects in this very complete record do not call for special comment in a review. Students of Minnesota history, however, will rejoice to examine the account of Professor Walter M. Patton of the founding and progress of Carleton College (chapter 7). Here is set forth the impressive story of the beginning, amid questionings and much discouragement, of the institution in 1867, of years of experiment and struggle, and finally of the development at Northfield of a robust modern college of the first academic order — a college that has

become an object lesson to similar institutions in how it is possible in the twentieth century to adhere to the religious ideals of the fathers, while reaching forward fearlessly for all that the newer Book of Truth may contain.

WILLIAM STEARNS DAVIS

Handbook of Mining in the Lake Superior Region. Section One by ALEXANDER N. WINCHELL, D. Sc., professor of mineralogy, University of Wisconsin. Section Two by the ENGINEERS CLUB OF NORTHERN MINNESOTA and the DULUTH ENGINEERS CLUB. (1920. xvi, 260 p. Illustrations, charts.)

This book, which was compiled for use in connection with the Lake Superior meeting of the American Institute of Mining and Metallurgical Engineers in August, 1920, deals with the practical problems of the mining engineer. The Lake Superior meeting included a trip by steamer from Buffalo to Houghton, Michigan, and visits to the mining districts of Michigan and Minnesota. The *Handbook,* accordingly, takes up the material in geographical sequence, beginning with the Sault Ste. Marie canal and locks. A short history of the discovery and development of the mines at each point is given, the characteristic features of the operations are discussed, special types of machinery are noted, and geologic conditions are indicated. This scattered material on the history of mining in the Lake Superior region would have been of greater value to the student if a ready assembling of the same had been made possible by the addition of an index. Of the hundred and fifty-four pages comprising the first section of the book, about forty are devoted to Minnesota, the remainder being taken up with accounts of copper and iron mining in Michigan and Wisconsin. Section 2, entitled "A Little Journey to Duluth and the Minnesota Iron Ranges," contains not only descriptions of the several mining areas, but also discussions of methods, of the evolution of equipment, of transportation, and of manufacturing. Graphic charts of the productivity of the ranges, numerous statistical tables, cross-section sketches, and a large number of photographs of all phases of the operations add greatly to the interest of the text.

WILLOUGHBY M. BABCOCK JR.

New England in the Life of the World: A Record of Adventure and Achievement. By HOWARD ALLEN BRIDGMAN. (Boston, The Pilgrim Press, 1920. xiii, 395 p. Illustrations, maps.)

How the natives of the oldest settled section of the United States have emigrated to various parts of the earth, and how they have taken with them the New England spirit — the spirit of the Pilgrim fathers — and have influenced thereby the cultural evolution of the people with whom they came in contact, is set forth in this volume. The author devotes eight chapters to the process by which the "Pilgrim seed" was transplanted to and generated in nine states of the Middle West — Ohio, Michigan, Wisconsin, Illinois, Minnesota, Iowa, Kansas, and the Dakotas. The subtitle of the volume might well be applied to the chapter on "New England and Minnesota" (pp. 109–120); for here is a brief record, first, of the adventures of Jonathan Carver, the explorer, and of a group of Indian missionaries including the Pond brothers, and, second, of the achievements of those later New Englanders who helped to mould the infant state, especially in its religious and educational life. The early history of that lasting product of the labors of the latter group — Carleton College — is presented in some detail (pp. 114–117). The chapter includes a list of New England place names in Minnesota (p. 118).

In writing this book Dr. Bridgman undertook a vast task — a task which could scarcely be adequately performed when limited to the scope of a single volume. Hence in place of an exhaustive discussion of the New England influence in Minnesota, there is merely an enumeration of prominent individuals with brief statements of their accomplishments. Some rather obvious errors have crept in, such as the statements that New Ulm is in Carver County (p. 110), and that there were twenty-four members in the first territorial legislature (p. 112). Nevertheless, the chapter contains a useful and original compilation of material. It is accompanied by a portrait of Minnesota's foremost New Englander, Dr. Cyrus Northrop, and by a map on which are indicated "sample migrations from New England to Minnesota." Most of the chapters in this volume were first

published serially in the *Congregationalist and Advance,* a weekly periodical edited by Dr. Bridgman. The chapter on Minnesota, with slight variations, appeared in the issue of May 20, 1920.

BERTHA L. HEILBRON

The Centennial History of Illinois. Edited by CLARENCE WALWORTH ALVORD. In five volumes. Volume 1: *The Illinois Country, 1673–1818.* By CLARENCE WALWORTH ALVORD. (524 p.) Volume 2: *The Frontier State, 1818–1848.* By THEODORE CALVIN PEASE. (475 p.) Volume 3: *The Era of the Civil War, 1848–1870.* By ARTHUR CHARLES COLE. (499 p.) Volume 4: *The Industrial State, 1870–1893.* By ERNEST LUDLOW BOGART and CHARLES MANFRED THOMPSON. (533 p.) Volume 5: *The Modern Commonwealth, 1893–1918.* By ERNEST LUDLOW BOGART and JOHN MABRY MATHEWS. (544 p.) (Springfield, The Illinois Centennial Commission, 1918–20. Illustrations.)

By celebrating the one hundredth anniversary of her admission to the Union with the production of a five-volume collaborative history, Illinois has created a unique monument to herself and has put in her debt all students of history and all true admirers of genuine search for the truth — a search which in this case involved years of painstaking toil in collecting materials, sifting their contents, and reducing the result to a narrative account so far unparalleled in state historical work. To the legislators who, by the appropriation of necessary funds, made possible such an undertaking, to the men and women who did the actual work of compiling information and rendering its synthesis available to the world of students and all interested in the story of the growth of a great commonwealth, to the Illinois Centennial Commission in direct charge of the whole enterprise, and to the numerous institutions and individuals who have contributed in one way and another is due the gratitude of all. The resources of the New World and the services of hundreds of persons have entered into the final product. Without adequate financial support to command so great an array of talent such a history would have been impossible; lacking scientific guidance and trained workers the money could have brought forth no

worthy results; only with such a combination was possible the *Centennial History of Illinois.*

Each individual volume has been the product of one or more specialists working in his own particular field. Professor Alvord, the editor-in-chief, found himself at home in the formative period which laid the foundation of a commonwealth. French *voyageurs* and *coureurs de bois* jostle redskins and English traders in his pages; the passing of France, revolutionary echoes, and the rise of a territory and state are set forth in a story which runs smoothly and in which the glamour of the romantic past has been caught. Dr. Pease and Professor Cole take up the tale and carry it through a half century during which the new-born state with its scattering population was struggling from the crudeness of frontier conditions to a position of leadership in the Mississippi Valley and in the Union. As in few instances heretofore in the writing of state histories, there has been no attempt to eulogize, to gloss over the unlovely; rough and ready politics, hair-brained financiering, the clash of the practical and the idealistic are portrayed with the intention not of creating a picture of an idyllic past but of telling the story of things as they were. Douglas, Lincoln, Trumbull, Logan, and other personages of national import weave in and out of the tale of Illinois development. Occasionally one feels that the main thread is likely to be lost in the mass of detail; yet, after scanning the appalling list of citations, one can only marvel at the restraint which has suppressed and condensed, which has subordinated or entirely eliminated hundreds of facts which, although interesting in themselves, would have dissipated attention and covered the real story with layers of antiquarian lore.

Halfway through the fourth volume the reader strikes a new tone. Up to this point the historical narrative has been maintained; indeed the first eight chapters of *The Industrial State* carry the story forward with a smoothness which characterized Professor Alvord's own volume. But thereafter follow chapter after chapter which, while packed with invaluable information, can scarcely be called history. These chapters are essays on various economic subjects — "Financial Problems," "Railroad Transportation," "Trade and Commerce," and the like. The economist has replaced the historian. What is true of the

latter portion of *The Industrial State* characterizes *The Modern Commonwealth* throughout. The political scientist and the economist discourse upon governmental and economic questions, but nowhere is found a straightforward story of the development of Illinois. Much of this material is interesting, all of it is replete with valuable information carefully gathered and set forth, but it is not history. True it is, as pointed out by Professor Alvord in the preface to the first volume, that the events of the past twenty or thirty years have not had time to settle, that it is much more difficult to tell the story of these years than that of an earlier period where time has sifted the relevant from the irrelevant; nevertheless it is possible to trace in main outlines even so recent a tale. Consequently it is with regret that one notes that no attempt was made to carry to the end an historical narrative so lucidly and interestingly traced from the days of discovery to 1893.

Despite, however, the disappointment the reader feels in the last volume and a half, the impression of the work as a whole is that Illinois has set the pace. The sister commonwealths have before them an example of what, with like use of resources, a similar will, and years of work such as brought forth the *Centennial History of Illinois,* eventually may and should be done in forty-seven other states.

LESTER BURRELL SHIPPEE

Guide to the County Archives of California. By OWEN C. COY, PH. D., director and archivist. (Sacramento, California Historical Survey Commission, 1919. ix, 622 p. Maps.)

If imitation is the highest praise, then Illinois has cause to feel flattered that another state has followed so soon her example in making and publishing a guide to its archives. In 1915 appeared Theodore C. Pease's *County Archives of the State of Illinois,* a pioneer of its kind. (See review, *ante,* 1:220.) This publication of the California Historical Survey Commission, issued four years later, clearly reveals the influence of the Illinois volume both in scope and in method.

In the main, the two works are similar. Both divide the material into three parts: (1) county archives and records in general,

with methods of care and use that have proved most satisfactory; (2) a classification of the duties of the chief county officers and the archives in their keeping; (3) a guide to the archives of every county, with notes of their location and condition. It must not be supposed, however, that the threefold division is indicated in these volumes. Indeed, one criticism that might be made of Mr. Coy's book is that the caption for part one is "The Care and Use of County Archives," whereas investigation reveals that much the larger portion has to do with the classification of California county documents according to the officer in whose charge they are kept. On minor points there are several differences between the two works. Mr. Pease takes up, as records of the clerk of the circuit court, the county clerk, and the recorder, the same kinds of documents which Mr. Coy considers under the classification of the clerk, the recorder, and fiscal officials, county officials and their duties differing slightly in the two states. The most noticeable difference is the addition of school records in Mr. Coy's book. Again, Mr. Coy has improved upon his model by placing a map of the county before the guide to every set of county records. These maps give the present and former county seats, present and former county boundaries, and a legend which refers to the statute or politic code occasioning every change in the map. By way of further comparison of these two works, which, it is hoped, are merely the predecessors of similar publications in every state, it may be said that the more recent is somewhat the more readable book, despite its finer print. This statement applies more specifically to those parts of the work in which the use and care of archives and the classification of documents are considered. The style is simpler than Mr. Pease's, and subheadings in bold face type enable one to tell the content of a section at a glance. Each book is, happily, supplied with an index.

The fact which is borne in upon the reader of both volumes, and the point which the author of each seeks above all else to drive home, is the crying need for more attention to county archives in the United States. The field agents in both states found appalling conditions. At some county seats there are not even vaults, not to mention fireproof buildings, for the preservation of records. Almost worse, however, than the lack of proper

precautions against fire is the negligence which consigns documents to garrets and basements, there to be eaten by mice or to mildew, as the case may be, or at the least to become covered with dust and to decay beyond the reach of those who would find in them precious records.

Of what value these county records are to the public in general, to the lawyer, and to the investigator of the social, political, and economic history of the state may be found well set forth in the preface and first part of Mr. Coy's book. Here only a few instances may be given. Stored away in local courthouses in California were found the records which give the best history of the Spanish and Mexican régime in that region, since the great bulk of the Spanish manuscript documents turned over to the United States upon the transfer of sovereignty from Mexico were burned in the San Francisco fire of 1906. On these records are based innumerable land titles in California. Similarly, the "Record of Official Acts of Thomas O. Larkin," in the archives of Monterey County, are of the utmost importance to students of international law, of American history, and of the relations between Great Britain and the United States.

With these conditions and facts in mind, one cannot refrain from inquiring what is being done along these lines in Minnesota. The answer indicates that the state, through its historical society, is alive to the situation, but that lack of funds precludes, for the present at least, the completion of the work begun over five years ago. In the issue of the MINNESOTA HISTORY BULLETIN for May, 1917, is a paper by Mr. Franklin F. Holbrook, field agent for the society, entitled "Some Possibilities of Historical Field Work." In this paper Mr. Holbrook tells of his work in five county seats, conducting the same kind of investigation which Mr. Pease and Mr. Coy have reported with such success. It is to be hoped that a liberal appropriation for research and publication, similar to those made in Illinois and California, will enable Minnesota in the near future to stand forth as the third state in the Union to recognize the farsighted policy of caring for and publishing a guide to its county archives.

GRACE LEE NUTE

MINNESOTA HISTORICAL SOCIETY NOTES

The budget estimates for the work of the society for the biennium ending June 30, 1923, as approved by the executive committee at its November meeting and submitted to the Governor, called for an increase in the appropriation to fifty thousand dollars a year. Special efforts were made to acquaint the members of the legislature and the public in general with the needs of the society. A twelve-page pamphlet entitled *The Minnesota Historical Society, a Summary of Its Progress During the Last Six Years and a Survey of Future Possibilities, together with Budget Estimates for 1921-23* and a folder entitled, *Who Cares About Minnesota History?* were issued in December and given wide distribution. The folder contained a table showing the increases in the demands upon the society and in the costs of operation for 1920 as compared with 1915 and a graph comparing the appropriations for historical work by Wisconsin, Iowa, Illinois, and Minnesota. Editorials on the needs of the society and the importance of its work appeared in leading newspapers and magazines, and numerous clubs and societies adopted resolutions favoring increased appropriations. The two societies of the Daughters of the American Revolution and the Sons of the American Revolution were especially active in bringing the needs of the society to the attention of members of the legislature. The superintendent spoke on the work of the society and its financial situation before five organizations: the Fifth District of the State Federation of Women's Clubs, the Woman's Club of Minneapolis, the Minnesota Editorial Association, the Democratic Club of Minnesota, and the Minnesota Conference of the Swedish Lutheran Church; and Mr. Babcock spoke on the same subject at the state conference of the Daughters of the American Revolution. Representatives of the society were given hearings before the finance committee of the Senate and the appropriations committee of the House; and, in the closing days of the session, the appropriation for the biennium was fixed at forty thousand dollars a year, an increase of fifteen thousand dollars. While the amount originally requested is no more than

is actually needed adequately to meet the growing demands upon the society for service and the increased cost of maintenance, nevertheless the sum granted will enable it to carry on its work in a much more satisfactory manner than has been possible during the last two years. Whatever effect the publicity work may have had on the appropriations, it is certain that the services performed by the society are better known and more generally appreciated by the people of the state than ever before.

A very interesting paper on "The 151st United States (First Minnesota) Field Artillery in the Battle of Champagne, July 14–17, 1918" was read by the Honorable Louis L. Collins, lieutenant governor of the state, at an open session held in connection with the stated meeting of the executive council on April 11. The auditorium was filled with an audience of about 170 people. Mr. Collins has written a history of the service of this organization, popularly known as the "Gopher Gunners," which it is hoped may be published by the Minnesota War Records Commission.

An amendment to the society's by-laws, adopted by the executive council at its April meeting, makes provision for several new classes of members of the society. To the old classification of honorary, corresponding, and active members is added the new class of institutional members, open to "any club, society, or association in Minnesota interested in any phase of the history of the state or any part of the state." This class is subdivided into permanent institutional members, who pay one hundred dollars in advance; sustaining institutional members, who pay ten dollars per annum; and annual institutional members, who pay two dollars per annum. An institutional member "may be represented at all meetings of this society by one delegate with the right to vote and may make a report of its historical activities annually to this society." Two new subdivisions of active members were added also to the former classes of life, sustaining, and annual members. These are patrons who make a "contribution of one thousand dollars or more to the permanent fund of the society or annual contributions of fifty dollars or more"; and contributing-life members, who, having become life members, make annual contributions of five dollars or more.

For the benefit of the public libraries and schools of the state, arrangements have been made whereby they may subscribe for all the current publications of the society on the same terms as those of annual individual membership — two dollars a year. This will entitle them to receive not only the quarterly issues of the BULLETIN but also volumes of the *Collections* and of Dr. Folwell's *History* as issued. The previous publications, so far as they are in stock, are also being offered to subscribing libraries and schools on very generous terms.

At the meeting of the executive council held in connection with the annual meeting of the society on January 17, the following were unanimously elected corresponding members of the society: Dr. George Edgar Vincent, president of the Rockefeller Foundation, New York; Mr. Justin Harvey Smith, historian, New York; Mr. Victor Hugo Paltsits, chief of the division of American history of the New York Public Library; Mr. Waldo Gifford Leland, of the department of historical research of the Carnegie Institution of Washington; Dr. Carl Russell Fish, professor of history in the University of Wisconsin; and Dr. Joseph Schafer, superintendent of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin.

One hundred and thirteen people joined the society as active members during the six months ending on March 31, 1921. In the following list the names of these new members are grouped by counties:

DOUGLAS: Constant Larson of Alexandria.

HENNEPIN: Cephas D. Allin, Clarence W. Alvord, Mrs. Mildred M. Barnard, John D. Barnhart, Mrs. Henry W. Battin, Mrs. Walter L. Benedict, Mrs. Daniel C. Bennett, Arthur H. Benton, Helen E. Blaisdell, Mrs. William E. Briggs, Mrs. Rome G. Brown, Mrs. William J. Byrnes, Mrs. William I. Carpenter, Dr. Albert J. Chesley, Mrs. Clarence H. Childs, Louis P. Chute, Olive J. Clark, Anna J. Cleveland, Lotus D. Coffman, Mrs. George M. Colgate, Mrs. Seymour S. Cook, Mrs. Franc B. Daniels, S. Virginia Denison, Dr. Arthur M. Eastman, Mrs. Adolph G. Ensrud, Abbott L. Fletcher, Sister Frances Rita, Everett Fraser, Albert Graber, Mrs. Albert Haines, Edwin H. Hewitt, Andrew Holt, Mrs. Horace B. Hudson, Joseph D. Husbands,

Esther Johnson, Mrs. Herbert W. Jones, Mrs. William J. Klein, Mrs. Jessie S. Ladd, Mrs. Levi L. Longbrake, Levi Longfellow, Beatrice M. Longfellow, Grace M. Longfellow, Richard E. Lutz, Mrs. Morris M. Mitchell, Minnie F. Morse, Henry F. Nachtrieb, Herman F. Parsons, Mrs. Edward S. Pattee, Mrs. Delia M. Preston, Mrs. Agnes Pyne, Mrs. Fred W. Reed, Walter C. Robb, Mrs. Julius Rosholt, Martin B. Ruud, Herbert B. Satterlee, Mrs. James D. Shearer, Louise W. Stoddard, Andrew A. Stomberg, Frank O. Swain, Reverend George C. Tanner, Kenneth W. Thomson, Byron H. Timberlake, Robert W. G. Vail, Mrs. Edward F. Waite, Frederick L. Washburn, Mrs. Joseph G. Williams, Milton M. Williams, Mabel C. Wray, and Quincy Wright, all of Minneapolis.

HUBBARD: Dr. P. D. Winship of Park Rapids.

POLK: Edmund M. Walsh of Crookston.

RAMSEY: Swen Bernard, Chester L. Caldwell, Wilhelmina E. Carothers, Mrs. Rebecca Marshall Cathcart, Margaret K. Dunphy, Reverend Maurice D. Edwards, Reverend Alexander J. D. Haupt, Sister Hilary, Aloys P. Hodapp, Mrs. Frank Jerrard, Carolyn A. Johnson, Marjorie V. Knowles, Mrs. Alexander Milne, William F. Moritz, Mrs. Charles J. A. Morris, Dillon J. O'Brien, Hazel E. Ohman, Ethel H. Olson, Henry E. Randall, Henry Rothschild, Rabbi Isaac L. Rypins, Sister St. Rose, Mrs. James Schoonmaker, Mrs. Frank Shepard, Royal A. Stone, Herbert M. Temple, Mary E. Wheelhouse, Reverend Gilbert L. Wilson, and Charles J. Zahradka, all of St. Paul.

RICE: Reverend Charles C. Rollit of Faribault and Donald J. Cowling of Northfield.

ROCK: Dorothy Johnston of Luverne.

ST. LOUIS: Harry C. Dudley, John Owens, and Francis J. Webb of Duluth; and Bertha Hinshaw of Hibbing.

WASECA: V. C. Pickett of Waseca.

WASHINGTON: William A. E. Weiss of Stillwater.

WATONWAN: C. Edward Bell of Madelia.

YELLOW MEDICINE: John Bowe of Canby.

NON-RESIDENT: Alexander Morrison of Winnipeg.

The society lost eight active members by death during the six months ending March 31, 1921: John H. Steele of Minneapolis,

October 2; Frank A. Upham of St Paul, October 13; Hanford L. Gordon of Los Angeles, November 13; William E. Lee of Long Prairie, November 17; Charles W. Drew of Minneapolis, November 25; Oliver W. Shaw of Austin, December 28; Captain Jeremiah C. Donahower of St. Paul, February 9; and Dr. Arthur J. Gillette of St. Paul, March 24. The deaths of two other active members, Colonel Charles P. Maginnis of Portland, Oregon, December 9, 1918, and Edwin O. Wood of New York, April 23, 1918, and that of one corresponding member, Kemp P. Battle of Chapel Hill, North Carolina, February 4, 1919, have not heretofore been noted in the BULLETIN.

The society's museum was the scene of a reception given by the Minnesota Daughters of the American Revolution in honor of the state legislators and their wives, on the evening of February 24. Mrs. Marshall H. Coolidge, state regent, and Mrs. William I. Nolan, wife of the speaker of the House, received the six hundred guests who attended. The program included an exhibition of the panorama of the Sioux Outbreak and the relation by Mrs. Mary Schwandt Schmidt of her experiences as an Indian captive in 1862.

The use of the society's library continues to increase at a very gratifying, and at the same time alarming, rate — alarming because of the impossibility of giving satisfactory service with the present staff. The number of readers in the main reading room in 1919 was thirty-five per cent greater than in 1918, and in 1920 it was forty-one per cent greater than in 1919. The number for the first three months of 1921 is 2,036, which is sixty-five per cent greater than the number for the same months of last year. The society's manuscript collection was consulted by seventy-five people during these months of 1921 as compared with thirty-six in the same months of 1920. It is a conservative estimate to say that the society's collections are used three times as much now as they were in 1918 or any previous year. The number of visitors to the society's museum was also unusually large during the first quarter of 1921, being in the neighborhood of eight thousand. About three thousand of this number were included in sixty-five classes of students from colleges, high schools, and

graded schools; and it is interesting to note that eleven of these classes were from schools outside of the Twin Cities.

Some of the old, rare, and curious books and pamphlets in the society's library, especially such as have a special interest for educators, were exhibited in the reading room during the meeting of the Minnesota Education Association, which was held in St. Paul early in November. The largest and most popular exhibit covered three tables and was made up of a collection of schoolbooks arranged by subjects, showing the development of textbooks between the eighteenth and the twentieth centuries. Examples of the catalogues and announcements of Minnesota schools and colleges from early pioneer days to the present, of young ladies' seminaries in the early nineteenth century, and of the leading American colleges and universities illustrated the evolution of the nation's institutions of higher learning. A Bible, a newspaper volume, and an almanac of the eighteenth century were grouped on one table to show the typical library of the New England farmer of that period; and the literary taste of the nineteenth century reader was exemplified in a display of books of the type found in the average home during the latter part of the century. Examples of artistic and ornate printing, English dictionaries of various dates, and some of the library's foreign dictionaries also were exhibited.

Over three hundred persons attended the annual holiday opening of the museum on Washington's birthday, which took the form this year of a costume revel and fashion show designed to illustrate the development of styles in dress. Members of the society's staff and students from the Mechanic Arts High School of St. Paul wore costumes from the museum collections and presented a series of scenes from the past and a parade of the fashions. Beginning with the Indian pipe invocation ceremony, given by Mr. Charles Drew of the Society of American Indians, the scenes were drawn from various periods in American history and concluded with the Red Cross nurse and the man in khaki of 1917. Members of the Nathan Hale chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution presented a tableau showing Betsy Ross and the flag, and representatives of the Colonial

Dames of America staged a scene of the courtship of John Alden.

The museum is very anxious to assemble a collection of specimens which will serve as an adequate record of the development of Minnesota, particularly during the period of pioneer settlement and the fur trade. It accordingly solicits gifts of pioneer cooking utensils, articles of early domestic life, handmade tools, relics connected with the fur trade, specimens illustrating the great industries of the state, medals, pictures of early settlers and places of historic interest, and similar articles. Plans are under consideration for the building of a pioneer log cabin as an exhibit in the museum, and many objects of the classes mentioned will be needed to fit it out properly. Many of the commonest things of everyday life in the early days are almost unknown to the present generation, except as they may be seen in an historical museum. People who have such things in their attics and cellars are urged to aid in the work of the society by contributing these historic relics for preservation in the museum as records of the life of the past.

The papers of Josiah B. Chaney, which were received in 1915 (see *ante,* 1:230), have now been arranged and made available for consultation. In addition to personal correspondence, these papers include records of a number of local organizations of which Mr. Chaney was an active member. Among the organizations thus represented are Acker Post of the Grand Army of the Republic, the St. Paul Academy of Natural Sciences, and the St. Anthony and Minneapolis Typographical Union. The minutes of the state conventions of the Universalist Church from 1860 to 1885 also are included. The most interesting and valuable item in the collection, however, is the long and almost complete series of diaries kept by Mr. Chaney from 1845 to 1907. In them he relates the events of his first journey westward from New England in 1846; he describes the activities in the little frontier towns in Illinois and Wisconsin during the twelve years he spent in these states; he tells of his trip to St. Anthony in 1858; and, from 1864, when he settled permanently in St. Paul,

to 1907, he records many events of civic importance such as conventions, elections, and the deaths of prominent citizens. His entries include daily indications of the weather, which, from 1878, become an acurate meteorological record.

The papers of Hanford L. Gordon, which were deposited with the society under certain restrictions in August, 1915 (see *ante*, 1:136), have now, owing to the death of Mr. Gordon in Los Angeles in November, 1920, been released from these restrictions and are available for use. Among them is a very entertaining autobiography, several annotated volumes of Mr. Gordon's books, two scrapbooks of newspaper clippings, and a collection of several hundred letters dealing with historical and literary matters.

The Emery process of mending and repairing manuscripts, which has become almost an art, so delicate is some of the work, was illustrated in a traveling exhibit sent by the Emery Record Preserving Company of Taunton, Massachusetts, especially for the annual meeting of the society in January, and displayed in the manuscript room. This process consists of covering the worn and tattered manuscript with a fine transparent silk cloth, which is pasted and pressed down into the paper until it becomes a part of it, thus giving a new foundation which makes the paper practically as good as new and preserves the life of the manuscript for many years. A few historical societies and the Library of Congress have work of this sort done on a large scale by assistants who have been trained in the art. A small amount of such work has been done in the manuscript division of this society, and many of the older and more valuable papers need the treatment, but lack of funds and of trained assistants has prevented much progress.

The January-February number of the *North Star* contains an account of "A Visit to Minnesota Historical Society," by the editor, Mr. N. N. Rönning. In it the writer comments on the transfer of the library of the Swedish Historical Society of America to the custody of the Minnesota Historical Society and then makes the following suggestion: "Would it not be a good plan for Norwegian organizations and individuals to turn over

to the Minnesota Historical Society whatever material they may have of historical interest? The society has the place and the organization for preserving and making the best use of such material. . . . The fire and the scrap heap have been receiving too much already. Why not preserve what is left?"

The *Minneapolis Tribune* for January 23 publishes an article entitled "Pioneer Papers Tell of State's Early Struggles," in which some interesting and valuable features of the files of newspapers in the society's library are pointed out.

Two articles about the society have appeared recently in magazines published outside the state: "The Minnesota Historical Society," in the *Michigan History Magazine* for October; and "The Minnesota Historical Society and Its Museum," in the November number of *Museum Work*. Both articles are by the superintendent of the society and are illustrated with pictures and plans of its building.

Mr. R. W. G. Vail, the society's librarian, was the principal speaker at the annual banquet of the Twin City Library Club on November 23, 1920. His subject was "Gambling in Rare Books." At this meeting Mr. Vail was elected president of the club for the ensuing year. On March 9 Mr. Vail addressed the ladies of the First Baptist Church of St. Paul on the subject of "Citizenship via the Library."

Mr. Willoughby M. Babcock Jr., the curator of the museum, addressed the Rebecca Prescott Sherman chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution in Minneapolis on October 15. He spoke on the work and aims of the society.

Miss Adella Wardrum resigned her position as stenographer and typist on the staff of the society on October 16, 1920, and Miss Ethel Olson was appointed to fill the vacancy. Miss Marjorie Knowles served as substitute assistant in the museum during December and January, while Miss Olive J. Clark, the regular assistant, was absent on leave. Miss Elsa R. Nordin, assistant cataloguer, resigned on March 18, 1921, and is now head cataloguer in the library of Carleton College.

Charles Wilberforce Ames

Resolutions of the Executive Council of the Society

Whereas, Charles Wilberforce Ames was removed from our midst by the hand of death on April 3, 1921; and

Whereas, Mr. Ames was one of the most useful and active members of the Minnesota Historical Society, having been elected to life membership in 1904, and having served as a member of the executive council of the society from 1912 to 1918, during the period in which provision was made by the legislature for a building for the society, the building was erected and occupied, and the society experienced considerable expansion of its activities; and

Whereas, In addition to his many services to the city of St. Paul, Mr. Ames also served his state, his country, and the cause of humanity and civilization in innumerable ways,—for example, he was secretary of the John Albert Johnson Memorial Commission in 1912 and as such presented its correspondence and records to the Minnesota Historical Society; he was active in relief work during the World War, visiting France in 1916; and he was a member, from April, 1917, to the end of that year, of the Minnesota Commission of Public Safety, established to mobilize the resources of the state for the war, — therefore, be it

Resolved, By the executive council of the Minnesota Historical Society, that we hereby express our deep appreciation of the services rendered by Charles Wilberforce Ames to this society and to the state of Minnesota and our sense of the great loss which has come to the society and to the state through his death; and be it further

Resolved, That these resolutions be spread upon the minutes of this body and that a copy thereof be furnished to the family of Mr. Ames.

A Library of Swedish-American History

An outstanding event in the recent record of the Minnesota Historical Society is the acquisition of the library of the Swedish

Historical Society of America — a collection of about six thousand books, pamphlets, manuscripts, and newspaper files in the main relating to Swedish people or institutions in America or written by Swedish-Americans. This society was organized in Chicago in 1905. Its library was located at Evanston, Illinois, until about three years ago, when it was transferred temporarily to the Denkman Memorial Library of Augustana College at Rock Island, Illinois. Until 1920 the management of the society was in the hands of residents of Chicago, but in that year control was voluntarily transferred to Minnesota. Professor A. A. Stomberg of the University of Minnesota was then elected president; Joseph A. Jackson of St. Paul, vice president; A. G. Johnson of Minneapolis, recording secretary; Alfred Söderström of Warroad, corresponding secretary; and C. J. Swendsen of Minneapolis, treasurer. The new officers entered upon negotiations with the officers of the Minnesota Historical Society, and in January, 1921, a contract was signed which provides for the permanent deposit of the library in the custody of the Minnesota Historical Society. The collection, filling forty large packing boxes, was received in March; and the work of unpacking, checking, sorting, and listing, preliminary to cataloging, will be pushed forward as rapidly as possible. The agreement provides that the books need not be kept together as a special collection, but the identity of the library is to be preserved by means of special bookplates and a separate catalogue. The work of classification and cataloging will take a long time, however, unless the staff can be materially increased.

The acquisition of this library is in line with the announcement by the Minnesota Historical Society several years ago of the policy of making its library a center for the study of the history of the Scandinavian element in America. At that time arrangements were made with the University of Minnesota to the effect that the university library should acquire material relating to the Scandinavian languages and literatures and to the Scandinavian countries themselves, and the society should collect material relating to these nationalities in the United States. In accord with this agreement the university transferred to the society the valuable O. N. Nelson collection, relating mainly to the Norwegian element, and in 1918 the society acquired another large Nor-

wegian collection from Professor Gisle Bothne. Numerous other lots, especially newspaper files, have been picked up from time to time; about fifty Scandinavian-American newspapers and periodicals are received annually; and now the library of the Swedish Historical Society rounds out the collection and makes it probably the most complete of its kind in the country.

Accessions

To Mrs. George R. Metcalf of St. Paul the society is indebted for the gift of about five hundred volumes of books and important periodical files from her library. The books consist principally of sets of the works of such authors of the first rank as Carlyle, Irving, Fiske, and Motley, and of standard works in the field of history, including Mommsen's *History of Rome,* Bancroft's *History of the United States,* Freeman's *History of the Norman Conquest,* Lowell's *Government of England,* and histories of England by Hume, Froude, and Macaulay — all very finely bound and in the best editions. Among the longer files of periodicals are eighteen volumes each of the *Contemporary Review* and the *Hibbert Journal* and twelve volumes of the *Quarterly Review.*

A notable addition to the society's collection of Civil War material has been received from the Minnesota Commandery of the Military Order of the Loyal Legion of the United States. The gift consists of the archives of the organization; about four hundred volumes of regimental histories, publications of patriotic societies and commanderies of the Loyal Legion, and United States Army general orders and circulars; and over twenty-five hundred duplicate copies of books, pamphlets, and circulars published by the local commandery.

The society's collection of Scandinavian-American material has been enriched by the acquisition recently of files of several newspapers. The years 1877 to 1880 and 1888 to 1915 are covered in files of two Swedish papers, the *Minnesota Stats Tidning* (St. Paul) and its predecessor, *Skaffaren,* received from Mr. Carl J. Larson of St. Paul; three bound volumes of *The North* (Minneapolis) for the years 1889 to 1891 are the gift of Mr.

Luth Jaeger of Minneapolis. The twenty-nine numbers of the Norwegian Nonpartisan newspaper, *Fremtiden* (St. Paul), issued between its establishment in 1919 and March, 1921, have been contributed by the editor, Mr. Sigvard Rödvik.

A valuable collection of labor material, including many state and federal reports and publications of trade and labor organizations, has been turned over to the society's library by the Minnesota Department of Labor and Industries. The collection comprises 428 bound volumes, 127 pamphlets, and many unbound periodicals.

From the estate of the late Horace B. Hudson of Minneapolis, the society has received a collection of nearly a hundred books and several hundred miscellaneous historical and geographical pamphlets, together with the original clipping collection used by Mr. Hudson in the compilation of the history of Minneapolis which he published in 1908.

An invaluable collection of Civil War letters covering the movements of the Third Minnesota Volunteer Infantry from the time of its organization at Fort Snelling in 1861 until its muster out in 1865 has been received recently from Mrs. Luth Jaeger of Minneapolis. The letters are those written by her father, Hans Mattson, who rose from the rank of captain of Company D to that of colonel of the regiment. They are written from camp and field, at headquarters, and on the march, and they contain an accurate and trustworthy account of the varied service of Colonel Mattson and of the activities of the regiment. In writing of the unresisting surrender of this regiment by Colonel Lester at Murfreesboro, Mattson expresses the belief that, had he been present, he might have been able to persuade the colonel to fight. Instead it was his sad task later to take the paroled prisoners to Jefferson Barracks to be exchanged and sent North. He afterwards served with the regiment in the Arkansas campaign, taking part in the occupation of Little Rock and later leading scouting expeditions.

Dr. William W. Folwell has transferred to the society all his notes and correspondence relating to subjects treated in the first

volume of his *History of Minnesota*. These papers contain valuable data on the Indians of Minnesota, early explorations, the fur trade, Fort Snelling, General Henry H. Sibley, Franklin Steele, and other subjects. The correspondence consists of many letters from prominent citizens and old settlers written in answer to queries about events connected with the history of the state.

A gap in the files of the archives of the surveyors-general of logs has been filled recently by the acquisition of thirteen volumes from the state forester's office. These records date back to 1854, when the office of surveyor-general was first established in Minnesota.

Mrs. Mary Schwandt Schmidt, a survivor of the Sioux Massacre, has presented some papers relating to her experiences in the tragedy of 1862. Her gift includes a number of personal reminiscences in manuscript and a more extended and elaborate account of her life written by Mrs. Edna S. Ward of St. Paul. The latter is a most interesting narrative of the journey of the Schwandts from Prussia to Fond du Lac County, Wisconsin, and thence to Renville County, Minnesota, where, only two months after their arrival, all the members of the family except Mary and her brother August were killed by the Indians. The girl's life in the camp of Little Crow, where she was held captive and was adopted by the friendly squaw, Snana, is described. Mrs. Schmidt's papers include also a series of letters from her Indian foster mother and two scrapbooks containing pictures, letters, and newspaper clippings relating principally to experiences in the massacre and to the monuments erected to the memory of the victims of the outbreak.

A few papers collected by the late Return I. Holcombe and recently presented to the society by Mrs. Mary Schwandt Schmidt include an account of the battle of Birch Coulie, as related by Dr. Jared W. Daniels, the surgeon who was present and cared for the wounded, and a letter dealing with the same subject, written by Thomas J. Galbraith to Governor William R. Marshall. Other items of interest in these papers are a number of letters of Mrs. Nancy McClure Huggan concerning her life among the Indians.

Copies of a number of papers written by survivors of the Lake Shetek massacre and relating their experiences on and following August 20, 1862, have been presented by Mr. Neil Currie of St. Paul. Mr. Currie collected these reminiscences to aid in securing a legislative appropriation for the erection at Lake Shetek of a monument in memory of the settlers who lost their lives in the massacre.

Miss Anna E. Spates of St. Paul has recently presented some papers of her father, the Reverend Samuel Spates, who came to Minnesota as a missionary of the Methodist Episcopal Church in 1839. From the Ebenezer Manual Labor School for Indian missionaries in Morgan County, Illinois, he was sent to Little Elk River, and he served subsequently at the missions at Fond du Lac, Sault Ste. Marie, and Sandy Lake. Indians, half crazed by liquor, drove the missionary and his family from the latter place in 1855, and he devoted the remainder of his life to the ministry among the white people of Minnesota. The papers consist of some scattering autobiographical notes, a number of letters written from Sandy Lake in the early fifties, and a fragment of his diary, in which he gives an account of a canoe trip from Sandy Lake to La Pointe in the fall of 1841.

The legal and business papers and a portrait of Lot Moffet, the proprietor of Moffet's Castle or the Temperance House, an early St. Paul hotel, have been presented by his daughter, Mrs. Charles C. Lyford of Minneapolis.

To Mrs. Newton H. Winchell the society is indebted for a considerable addition to her husband's papers already in its possession. The papers recently received consist largely of letters written to Professor Winchell by eminent scientists in this country and abroad regarding archeological matters.

A group of sketches prepared by William J. Massingham of Chippewa Falls, Wisconsin, for a proposed history of the Lake Superior region have been received from the author. The first of these is an autobiographic sketch, abounding in interesting anecdotes of pioneer days in southern Minnesota, where the author lived from 1856 until about 1870. The other sketches

deal with the history of the northeastern part of the state. Of special value are the accounts of the founding and growth of the towns along the Mesabi Range, which are accompanied by a number of early pictures of this region.

The society has added to its manuscript collection a copy of a diary of the Sibley expedition of 1863 kept by Oscar G. Wall, a member of Company F of the First Regiment of Mounted Rangers. This was made possible by the courtesy of Mr. Dana Wright of Jamestown, South Dakota, the owner of the diary, who loaned it for copying.

The diary of a legislator of 1876, the Honorable Leander Gorton, has been presented by his daughter, Mrs. B. H. Truman of Minneapolis. Mr. Gorton came to Minneapolis in 1856 and was one of the early mill owners of that city. As a legislator he showed his progressive views by introducing a bill to allow women to vote at school elections.

Mr. John H. Case of Hastings has presented a very interesting agricultural diary kept by Francis B. Larpenteur, a cousin of the St. Paul pioneer, Auguste L. Larpenteur, from 1855 to 1861, while he was living on his father's farm on the site of the present state fair grounds.

Upon the death of Professor Cyril A. Herrick, formerly of the University of Minnesota, his three-volume work, in manuscript, on the genealogy of the Devereaux family in America became the property of the society. The publication of this genealogy, which embodies the results of a large amount of research, is being considered by the Devereaux Family Association.

Mrs. Morris M. Mitchell, a member of the Minneapolis chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution, has presented a copy of a Revolutionary diary of unusual interest and value. It was kept by one of her ancestors, Solomon Dwinnell of Sutton, Massachusetts, who enlisted in the service of the Continental Army on December 10, 1775, crossed the Delaware with Washington on that memorable Christmas Eve of 1776, and was pres-

ent at the capitulation of Burgoyne on October 17, 1777. One of the most valuable records in the diary is a copy of the minutes of this capitulation with a list of the articles surrendered.

Captain Fred A. Bill of St. Paul has presented a transcript of the "Tourists' Manual and Guide to the Scenes, Legends and Cities of the Upper Mississippi River as Known and Enjoyed by the Patrons of the Diamond Jo Line Steamers," which he has recently edited for publication in the *Saturday Evening Post* of Burlington, Iowa. (See *ante*, 3:472, and *post*, 88.)

A copy of a contract between the American Fur Company and the Lake Erie Steam Boat Company, dated March 30, 1820, has been received through the courtesy of Mr. Frank H. Severance, secretary of the Buffalo Historical Society. The document concerns the transportation of merchandise between Black Rock, New York, and Michilimackinac.

A manuscript presented by the late George E. Shepstone, entitled "Some Recollections of Jackson Street and Central Park Church from 1869 till 1897," by the Reverend William McKinley, deals with the history of two Methodist churches of St. Paul. The author served as pastor of each of these churches, and he was well known in Methodist circles throughout the state.

Life and events at the old Lac qui Parle mission are described in a letter of Alexander Huggins, written from that station in 1838, which was sent to the society recently by his son, General Eli Huggins of San Diego, California. The letter, though begun in January, 1838, was not finished until April, when the first mail of the season was brought up the Minnesota River and the first letters were sent down.

A reminder of the old Indian scout days, in the form of a copy of a memorial to Congress on behalf of Pierre Bottineau, a widely known Indian guide and scout of Minnesota and the Northwest, was recently presented by his nephew, Mr. Omegine Huot, through the courtesy of Mr. Victor E. Patnaude of St. Paul. The memorial was written in St. Paul in March, 1879; it was signed by Henry H. Sibley and a number of other prominent men of that day; and it sets forth the distinguished serv-

ices of Bottineau as a guide in many important overland expeditions.

A Civil War diary, part of which was used by Robert L. Morris, assistant surgeon of the Eleventh Minnesota Volunteer Infantry, as a prescription book, but which bears on the flyleaf the name of "J. N. Serles, Hastings, Minnesota," was received recently from Mrs. R. E. Morris of Dunkirk, New York. The first few pages are a diary of a soldier with the First Minnesota and contain a detailed narrative of the movements of that regiment from July 1 to 19, 1861, followed by a "List of Wounded and prisoners of the first Minnesota Regiment" in the battle of Bull Run. From correspondence with Judge Jasper N. Searles of Stillwater, who enlisted in the First Minnesota in May, 1861, from Dakota County, it develops that these pages were written by him. In the spring of 1862 the book was packed with other things in a trunk which was stored in a warehouse in Washington, but the trunk could not be located when the owner returned to claim it in 1864.

A draft quota issued from the provost marshal's office at St. Paul on November 28, 1863, and recently presented to the society by the late John R. Cummins of Minneapolis contains the names and ages of all persons liable to military duty in the towns of Bloomington, Richfield, Eden Prairie, Minnetonka, Excelsior, and Minnetrista in the county of Hennepin.

Members of the Masonic order will be especially interested in an early membership certificate issued to Abraham Foot by "Lodge N° 1 at Crownpoint," in 1762, which was deposited with the society by his lineal descendant, the late Charles C. Ponsonby of St. Paul, shortly before his death. As Masonic lodges were not organized in the United States until about 1740, this certificate dates from the infancy of the order in this country. Other interesting items in the Ponsonby deposit are the old order-book kept by Captain Foot while he was stationed at Crown Point in 1761, several pieces of colonial paper currency, a number of almanacs of the early nineteenth century, and a peculiar handmade horsehair sieve used for sifting spices.

A manuscript recently received from Miss Abby A. Fuller of St. Paul contains direct evidence concerning the Chippewa disturbances under the leadership of Hole-in-the-Day which occurred in northern Minnesota coincident with the Sioux Outbreak. It is an account written by Miss Fuller's aunt, Mrs. Abby Fuller Abbe, relating her experiences and those of her husband at Crow Wing and at Fort Ripley in 1862. Mrs. Abbe asserts that Hole-in-the-Day attempted to coöperate with Little Crow, but that his plans were frustrated by Chippewa who were friendly to the whites.

Early methods of library organization and of cataloging and circulating books are illustrated in three volumes of records of the Taylor's Falls Library, dating from its organization in 1871 to 1874, which have been received from Miss Louise Wiltberger, the present librarian. The records show that it was deemed impracticable to sustain a reading room and that the members of the library association paid a small fee for the use of books. The gift includes also two volumes in which are recorded the books loaned during the years 1887 to 1894 and 1900 to 1903, and a record-book of the Taylor's Falls Lyceum for 1859 and 1860.

The history of an early institution of learning in Minnesota has been recalled recently by the discovery and rescue by the Reverend Alfred B. Gould of Zumbro Falls of the papers deposited in the corner stone of an old seminary building at Wasioja in Dodge County. This seminary was founded by the Freewill Baptists, and the corner stone of its first and only building was laid in July, 1858. The institution was opened in November, 1860, and continued under Baptist supervision until 1868. For a few years thereafter the seminary was in private hands, and in 1873 the Methodists bought the property and used it for educational purposes until 1894. The old building stood empty for a number of years and finally was burned in 1905. Mr. Gould discovered the corner stone in the ruins and at considerable expense of time and labor had it removed and opened. The contents, which he has placed in the custody of the society, include copies of the *Wasioja Gazette* of July 17, 1857, and July 2, 1858,

a synopsis of facts relating to the building of the seminary, and lists of names of the trustees, members of the building committee, officers, and members of the Freewill Baptist society. The papers are crumbling with age but transcripts have been made of all that are still legible.

The Reverend Samuel W. Dickinson of St. Paul has turned over to the society a small collection of letters written to and by the Reverend Joseph Badger of Ohio. The letters, which were given to the donor years ago by an editor in Norwalk, Ohio, range in date from 1810 to 1845. Of special interest in Wisconsin and Minnesota is a letter to Badger from the Reverend Alvan Coe written in 1829 at the portage between the Fox and Wisconsin rivers, in which he mentions the arrival from the station at Green Bay of the Reverend Jedediah D. Stevens, who had been appointed to accompany him in a "tour to the North Western Territory" in the interests of the missions.

Members of the family of the late General Le Duc have again added to the collections in the museum illustrative of American domestic life by depositing a large number of interesting specimens of early needlework, dresses, bonnets, and other wearing apparel. Included in the deposit are two early daguerreotypes — one showing old Fort Snelling and the adjacent buildings with the Minnesota River and the Sibley House in the foreground as they appeared from the bluffs back of Mendota, and the other portraying the famous Chippewa chief, Hole-in-the-Day.

A patch box of Battersea enamel such as ladies of fashion used to carry for their face patches, beautiful ivory fans inlaid with silver, a hand-embroidered collar dating from Revolutionary times, laces, an old French doll with a marble head, an oil-boiled silk shawl or cape, beaded bags, and many other specimens have been added to the museum collections as gifts of Miss Abby A. Fuller of St. Paul. Miss Fuller has also placed in the care of the society, in her own name and that of Mr. DeWitt McC. Lochman of New York, a long scarlet scarf, bead chains, a belt, a pipe, and several other articles which were once the property of the Chippewa chief, Hole-in-the-Day. For exhibition with

the museum display of Staffordshire china, she has loaned four rare deep blue pieces from her own collection and a pressed glass Henry Clay cup-plate of a design rarely seen at present.

Mrs. William F. Webster of Minneapolis has given the society a number of old-fashioned dresses, fans and slippers, a piece of printed cotton portraying the state funeral of Lord Nelson, and other valuable museum objects. Perhaps the most interesting articles included in the gift are two enormous dresses of the hoop-skirt type from the Civil War period.

A satin shawl with a design depicting the St. Paul ice palace of 1887 worked in the corners is the gift of Mrs. James J. Hill.

From Miss Grace E. McKinstry of Faribault the society has received as gifts and deposits several interesting old bonnets, and bits of fine lace. She has also deposited a number of copies of early American newspapers.

Mr. Jacob Liesenfeld of Comfrey has deposited in the museum a spinning wheel for flax which was made by a local carpenter at New Ulm about 1865.

A child's vest and trousers of buckskin, heavily worked with beads, have been deposited in the museum by Mrs. Frank H. Jerrard of St. Paul. They are presumably of Sioux origin.

Mrs. William I. Nolan of Minneapolis has presented to the society a model of the Minnesota State Capitol done in cardboard and plaster of Paris by Mr. Emile Voegeli of Minneapolis. The reproduction was made for a reception of the Dome Club in honor of Mrs. J. A. O. Preus.

The iron bar and hasp from the round tower at Fort Snelling and specimens from the site of Lieutenant Pike's stockade near Little Falls are interesting gifts received from Mrs. James T. Morris of Minneapolis.

Mr. William L. Hilliard of Lengby has presented to the society for its World War collection a heavy American trench knife of the modified bolo type which was adopted by the army as the result of its Philippine operations. This weapon was used in

the World War, and its acquisition offers an opportunity for comparison with several trench knives of other types in the collection.

An interesting newspaper broadside published by the *St. Paul Daily Globe* on Christmas morning, 1886, which consists of sketches of St. Paul in 1853 and in 1886 and a fanciful portrayal of the city as it was expected to look in 1919, is the gift of Miss Marjorie Knowles of St. Paul.

A composite photograph of members of the Minnesota Boat Club made by Charles A. Zimmerman in 1884 or 1885, together with a key list of the subjects, is the gift of Mr. Charles P. Noyes of St. Paul.

Mr. Charles W. Brown of Lake Gervais, has presented framed enlarged photographs of Colonel and Mrs. Andrew R. Kiefer and the saddle and bridle used by the colonel during his service as commander of the Second Minnesota Volunteer Infantry in the Civil War.

Through the courtesy of Mrs. Charles C. Lyford, Mrs. Eugene A. Hendrickson of Minneapolis has given to the society enlarged photographs of her late husband, a pioneer of Ramsey County, and of her father, the late William G. Ward, who was a member of the Minnesota Senate for several terms.

Mrs. Albert C. Clausen of St. Paul has presented an oil portrait of her late husband, who, at the time of his death in April, 1921, had been secretary of the Minnesota Railroad and Warehouse Commission for twenty years.

NEWS AND COMMENT

The prospects for a national archives building in Washington appear to be brightening. The *United States Bulletin Service*, a publication of the Babson Institute designed principally for business executives, in an article on "Government Building" in its issue for November 15, states that, according to present plans, the first building in Washington to be considered "will be an archives shelter to provide a fireproof and centralized storage point for the valuable Government documents now scattered in various buildings around town. . . . Another objective to be reached in the archives shelter is the release of office space now utilized by the departments to store these important papers." If business men begin to take an interest in the archives problem, perhaps the records of our national and state governments will in time be cared for as efficiently as are those of the most insignificant governments of Europe.

The claim put forward recently in a French paper that the United States had never paid the purchase price of Louisiana and also owed large sums to France as a result of loans made during the American Revolution is effectively demolished by Professor Lester B. Shippee of the University of Minnesota in a communication in the *Minneapolis Journal* for March 29.

The department of historical research in the Carnegie Institution of Washington is collecting the material for an edition, in several volumes, of the correspondence of Andrew Jackson, to be edited by Professor John S. Bassett of Smith College, Jackson's biographer. All persons who possess letters of General Jackson or important letters to him, or who know where there are collections of his correspondence, or even single letters, would confer a favor by writing to Dr. J. F. Jameson, director of the department named, 1140 Woodward Building, Washington, D. C.

"The Political Career of Ignatius Donnelly," by John D. Hicks; "Coördination of Historical Societies Within the States," by Joseph Schafer; and "The Internal Grain Trade of the

United States, 1860–1890," by Louis B. Schmidt, are among the papers read at the annual meeting of the American Historical Association, which was held in Washington from December 27 to 30.

Anyone seeking a clear statement of the importance of history and the historical method in modern life can find it in a pamphlet entitled *Why We Study History,* by Carl Russell Fish, published by the extension division of the University of Wisconsin (Madison, 1921. 10 p.).

"The Small Historical Museum," by Frank H. Severance, secretary of the Buffalo Historical Society, in *Museum Work* for December, contains many valuable suggestions for the work of local historical societies.

"Jane Grey Swisshelm: Agitator," by Lester Burrell Shippee, in the *Mississippi Valley Historical Review* for December, is a valuable contribution to Minnesota history, for Mrs. Swisshelm edited an antislavery paper in St. Cloud from 1857 to 1862. This number of the *Review* contains also a survey of "Historical Activities in the Trans-Mississippi Northwest, 1919–1920," by John C. Parish, and a "Report of Inspection of the Ninth Military Department, 1819." This report, which was made by Colonel Arthur P. Hayne, describes the posts and garrisons on and west of the Mississippi River and concludes with a dissertation on the utility of cavalry for military operations on the frontier. The March number of the *Review* contains Theodore C. Blegen's paper on "Cleng Peerson and Norwegian Immigration" which was read in part at the last annual meeting of the Minnesota Historical Society, and a suggestive essay on "The New Northwest" — the area from the Arctic Ocean to the mouth of the Missouri River and from Hudson Bay and Lake Superior to the Rocky Mountains — by Orin G. Libby.

The "Importance of the West in American History" was the subject of an address by Professor Clarence W. Alvord before the history division of the Minnesota Education Association on November 5. The sessions of the division were held in the auditorium of the Historical Building, St. Paul.

Those interested in state and local historical activities will find many useful suggestions in the *Proceedings* of the Indiana State History Conference held under the auspices of the Society of Indiana Pioneers in December, 1919, which have been published as number 11 of the *Bulletins* of the Indiana Historical Commission (1920, 102 p.). A second conference was held in December, 1920.

The Illinois Centennial Commission has published a report of its activities under the title *The Centennial of the State of Illinois,* compiled by Jessie Palmer Weber, secretary of the commission (Springfield, 1920. 489, xxiv p.). The volume contains accounts of numerous meetings and celebrations, with addresses and papers in full. Among the papers may be noted an interesting account of his experiences in editing *The Centennial History of Illinois,* by Clarence W. Alvord, and a scholarly article entitled "Establishing the American Colonial System in the Old Northwest," by Elbert J. Benton (pp. i-xxiv, inserted between pp. 222 and 223). The book should be useful to states contemplating similar celebrations.

The *Michigan Pioneer and Historical Collections,* a set of thirty-nine volumes published from 1877 to 1915, contain papers and original material pertaining to the history of the Northwest as a whole, especially during the French and British periods. It may interest some of the readers of this magazine, therefore, to know that any college or university or any member of the American Historical Association can obtain a set of this publication from the Michigan Historical Commission, Lansing, by paying the cost of transportation. The price to others is one dollar a volume.

The Life and Times of Stevens Thomson Mason, the Boy Governor of Michigan, by Lawton T. Hemans (Lansing, 1920. 528 p.) is a recent publication of the Michigan Historical Commission. The work is a contribution to the history of the state during the decade of the thirties.

The Daughters of the American Revolution of Michigan have started a series of historical collections with *Michigan Military*

Records, by Sue I. Silliman, state historian of the organization (Lansing, 1920. 244 p.). The contents include records of the Revolutionary soldiers buried in Michigan, the pensioners of territorial Michigan, and the soldiers of Michigan awarded the "Medal of Honor." The book is published by the Michigan Historical Commission as number 12 of its *Bulletins.*

The *Wisconsin Magazine of History* for December opens with an article on "The Trails of Northern Wisconsin," by James H. McAdams, which is of Minnesota interest because several of the trails discussed connected Lake Superior with the Minnesota country. The next article, "Colonel Hans Christian Heg," by Theodore C. Blegen, is an important contribution to the history of the Norwegian element in the Northwest. Then follows "The Panic of 1862 in Wisconsin," by Milo M. Quaife, an account of the Indian scare which spread all over Wisconsin in the wake of the news of the Sioux Outbreak in Minnesota. This number contains also a brief communication by Julia S. Lapham giving recollections of experiences in Le Sueur County, Minnesota, at the time of the outbreak. Still another article in this number which should be noted is one on "Coöperation between the State Historical Society and Local Societies," by Joseph Schafer, which, while relating specifically to the situation in Wisconsin, contains many suggestions applicable to other states. In the March number of the *Magazine* is an article entitled "An Historical Museum," by Carl R. Fish — a plea for the establishment of local museums of history and a consideration of how they may be started and developed and of their value to the communities. "More Light on Jonathan Carver," by Milo M. Quaife, in this number, presents evidence concerning Carver's ancestry which substantiates the conclusions of Dr. William Browning on that subject in the March, 1920, number of the *Magazine.*

Under the heading "Letters from Early Lumbering Days on the Chippewa River, with Notes," in the *Daily Telegram* of Eau Claire, Wisconsin, for February 12, Mr. William W. Bartlett gives a sketch of the early career of Frederick Weyerhaeuser and some letters illustrating his lumbering activities in the Chippewa Valley.

The papers of General Grenville M. Dodge are now in the possession of the Historical Department of Iowa, according to an announcement in the October number of the *Annals of Iowa*. The will of General Dodge, who died on January 3, 1916, not only left his papers to the department but also authorized his executors to contribute a sum not to exceed five thousand dollars from his estate toward defraying the cost of preparing and publishing a work based on these papers. The collection is said to contain "more than a million items of written and printed matter not only bearing upon, but indispensable to the understanding of western industrial, political and military subjects of greatest importance."

One of the rarest of western guidebooks — *Galland's Iowa Emigrant; Containing a Map, and General Descriptions of Iowa Territory*, by Isaac Galland (Chillecothe, 1840) — is reprinted complete, including facsimiles of the map and the title-page, in the January number of the *Annals of Iowa*. The work contains descriptions of the rivers and other natural features, accounts of the various Indian tribes, and information about the flora and fauna of Iowa Territory, which included all of Minnesota west of the Mississippi River.

A very attractive volume entitled *Journal of a Fur-Trading Expedition on the Upper Missouri, 1812–1813*, by John C. Luttig, edited by Stella M. Drumm, has been published by the Missouri Historical Society (St. Louis, 1920. 192 p.). The expedition to which the journal relates was led by Manuel Lisa and went up the Missouri River to a point near the present line between North and South Dakota, where Fort Manuel was erected. The day-by-day entries give a vivid picture of the fur trade, and some light is shed on relations between the different tribes of Indians and on the extent of British influence in the region during the War of 1812. Of special Minnesota interest is the writer's complaint against the government for having failed to erect "a fort at the River St. Peters as was promised by Liet Pike" (p. 122). The editorial work appears to have been done with great care, and the annotations are so extensive as to give the book somewhat the character of a biographical and genealogical dictionary.

The Arikara Narrative of the Campaign against the Hostile Dakotas, June, 1876, edited by O. G. Libby, has been published as volume 6 of the *North Dakota Historical Collections* (Bismark, 1920. 276 p. Illustrations). It consists of "the real story of the Arikara Indian scouts who served under Terry and under the immediate command of Custer," as told and interpreted to the secretary of the State Historical Society of North Dakota in 1912 by "the nine survivors of some forty of these scouts." The editorial work has been done with great care and thoroughness and the volume is an important contribution to the history of the Custer campaign. It is also an attractive piece of bookmaking. The inclusion in it, however, of a fifty-page account — quite worth while in itself — of "The State Park System of North Dakota" is an incongruity.

"A Living Outdoor Museum" is the title of a suggestive article by Melvin R. Gilmore, curator of the State Historical Society of North Dakota, in the February number of *Museum Work.* It is an account of the plans for developing the capitol grounds at Bismarck, North Dakota, (including a ten-acre Liberty Memorial Park, in which the historical society's new building is to be located), into "a living museum of the native flora of North Dakota, an herbarium and arboretum of the state." A "General Plan" showing the proposed arrangement of grounds and buildings accompanies the article.

Mr. Dietrich Lange, who is very successful in selecting historic incidents of romantic interest and weaving about them narratives which make the bare historic facts vital and living things for the American boy, has recently produced another book, *The Threat of Sitting Bull* (Boston, 1921. 370 p.). In this volume the author deals with the Indian disturbances in North Dakota and Montana which culminated in the Custer massacre.

Two articles of timely interest which appear in the *Western Magazine* for February and March call attention to "Yellowstone's Semi-Centennial." In the first, Olin D. Wheeler gives an account of the Washburn-Doane exploring expedition of 1870, quoting extensively from the diary of Nathaniel P. Lang-

ford of St. Paul, a member of the expedition. In the second article, C. L. Llewellyn gives a résumé of the attempts on the parts of commercial interests to secure footholds in the park.

The Nebraska State Historical Society has issued volume 19 of its *Publications,* edited by Albert Watkins, historian of the society (Lincoln, 1919. 357 p. Illustrations). The first part of the volume consists of a haphazard collection of papers, among which may be noted, "Swedes in Nebraska," by Joseph Alexis, and "Clan Organization of the Winnebago," by Oliver Lamere. Then follows a reprint from congressional documents of records of "Contested Elections in Nebraska"; and the proceedings of the society for 1917 are printed at the end. The book is well printed on good paper, and the articles and documents are extensively annotated by the editor.

Early Records of Gilpin County, Colorado, 1859-1861, edited by Thomas M. Marshall (Boulder, 1920. xvi, 313 p.), is the second volume of the excellent *University of Colorado Historical Collections* and the first of a *Mining Series.* By means of documents discovered in the county courthouse, contemporary newspaper material, and some private papers, a flood of light is thrown on the beginnings of organized government in the various mining districts into which the county was divided.

The latest addition to the family of state historical magazines is the *Chronicles of Oklahoma,* published quarterly by the Oklahoma Historical Society. The first number, dated January, 1921, contains editorials, historical papers, documents, book reviews, and notes. The editor is Professor James S. Buchanan of the University of Oklahoma.

Several years ago a fund for the promotion of work in the history of Texas and the South at the University of Texas was established by the gift of twenty-five thousand dollars from Major George W. Littlefield. Major Littlefield died recently, and it has been announced that his will provides for the addition of one hundred thousand dollars to the fund. Such gifts as this and the Burrows bequest to the Wisconsin Historical Society,

which amounted to about a quarter of a million dollars, indicate a growing realization of the importance of the contribution which history can make to the public welfare.

The Romance of Western Canada, by R. G. MacBeth (Toronto, 1918. 309 p.), retells the stories of the Selkirk colony and of the Riel rebellions — both subjects of considerable Minnesota interest — and then sketches the development of Manitoba and the other western provinces. It is a book for the general reader rather than the student; but, even so, an index should have been provided.

In October the Hudson's Bay Company began the publication for its employees of a monthly magazine, the *Beaver.* In addition to news items from the company's numerous posts and stores, the magazine contains material on the history of the company. The isolated life at York Factory 119 years ago is recalled in the extracts from the journal of William Tomison, who was chief factor at this post in 1801. Such extracts appear in the numbers for October and December, and the latter contains a picture of the old journal, which is in the company's archives in London. The December issue contains also the first instalments of two articles: one entitled "Early Explorations by Adventurers of the Hudson's Bay Co." is based upon Agnes C. Laut's *Conquest of the Great Northwest;* the other is the narrative of N. M. W. McKenzie, who was during "forty years in service of the Hudson's Bay Company inland." Mr. McKenzie describes his journey in 1876 from his home in the Orkney Islands to Fort Ellice, one stage of which was the "passage on a disreputable looking barge" down the Red River from "somewhere in Minnesota" to Fort Garry.

The origin of the name "Mississippi" is discussed briefly by William E. Connelley in an article on the "Origin of Indian Names of Certain States and Rivers," in the *Ohio Archaeological and Historical Quarterly* for October. Mr. Connelley contends that the name is of Algonquian origin, that it was originally *Namaesisipu,* and that it means nothing more nor less than "Fish River."

According to an article in the *Minneapolis Tribune* for March 20, the Sioux Indians of the Rosebud Reservation in South Dakota are planning to celebrate the Fourth of July by performing their ancient sun dance. A description of the dance and of the ceremonies connected with it is included in the article.

The condition and needs of the "Chippewa Missions of Minnesota" are described by the Reverend William H. Ketcham, director of Catholic Indian missions in the United States, in a letter published in the *Indian Sentinel* for October.

Some recent history of the Chippewa Indians of the White Earth Reservation and their land transactions is recounted in an article on a court decision with reference to the "blood status" of these Indians in the *Minneapolis Journal* for November 14.

The December number of the *North Star,* published in Minneapolis, marks a change in the character of the magazine. Henceforth it will be "mainly a high-class historical and literary magazine of special interest to Americans of Scandinavian descent." An article by Carl G. O. Hansen in this number, entitled "Norsemen and the World War," tells of achievements of numerous Scandinavians in the American Expeditionary Force; another article, entitled "Guri Endreson, a Daughter of the Vikings," by Agnes C. Laut, which is reprinted from the *Outing* for July, 1908, is a vivid account of experiences of Scandinavian pioneers in Kandiyohi County during the Sioux Outbreak. The January-February number of the *North Star* contains a sketch of "United States Senator Peter Norbeck," of North Dakota, by B. B. Haugan, and a history of the sport of skiing in America, by G. C. Torguson.

Memorial concerts in celebration of the centennial of the birth of Jenny Lind, given on October 9 and 10 in St. Paul and Minneapolis, expressed in song the appreciation for the "Swedish Nightingale" of the people of these centers of Swedish settlement in the United States. A tribute to the great diva and to the Swedish element in Minnesota's population appears in the issue of the *Minneapolis Journal* for November 10. In the three pages of the paper which are devoted to articles on Swedish customs,

laws, commerce, education, and living conditions, and to the contributions of the Swedes to American life, the place of honor is occupied by a charming portrait of Jenny Lind and an outline of her career. The musical ability of her countrymen is further exemplified in an article on Swedish music in America, contributed by Victor Nilsson. He deals principally with the activities of the American Union of Swedish Singers, with the concerts of Swedish artists in the United States, and with the performances, especially by the Minneapolis Symphony Orchestra, of the works of Swedish composers. Among the articles of special historical significance is one which takes note of the men of Swedish descent who participated in the American Revolution, most prominent among whom was John Hanson, "president of the confederation's congress" from November 5, 1781, to November 4, 1782. Of particular interest to Minnesotans is the brief sketch, accompanied by a portrait, of Fredrika Bremer, who was the guest of Governor Ramsey in St. Paul in October, 1850, and who visited the Falls of St. Anthony at that time. What is said to have been the "first hut built in Vasa," Goodhue County, is the subject of a very brief article. A picture of this log cabin, which was erected in 1852, appears on another page. An interesting contribution to the available material on Swedish immigration is the translation of a letter written to friends in his homeland by Staffan Staffanson on October 9, 1849, after a long and difficult journey overland to Jefferson, Iowa.

In the November number of *Vikværingen,* a magazine "published monthly by Kristianialaget, an organization composed of Americans from Christiania and environs, Norway," Thomas Sorby's reminiscences of his first year in America appear. He describes his voyage to America when he came from Norway as an immigrant, his first impressions of the American people, and his early experiences as a farm hand in the grain fields of North Dakota and Canada and as a factory worker in Eau Claire, Wisconsin.

Life among the Norwegian homesteaders of the remote frontier of Saskatchewan is described by Sigvard Rödvik of St. Paul

in a little volume entitled *Fortœllinger fra Canada* (St. Paul, 1921. 160 p.). The book is an account of the author's own experiences and observations and will serve as source material for the history of the Scandinavian element in America.

A study of "A Neglected Factor in the Anti-Slavery Triumph in Iowa in 1854," by F. J. Herriott, occupies about half of the *Jahrbuch* of the German-American Historical Society of Illinois for 1918–19 (Chicago, 1920. 388 p.). The "neglected factor" is the foreign-born and especially the German element; and the study, which is based largely on newspaper and other contemporary sources, is a valuable contribution to an understanding of political developments in the decade preceding the Civil War, not only in Iowa but in the Northwest as a whole.

An *Outline of the Government of Minnesota,* by William Anderson, director of the bureau for research in government of the University of Minnesota, has been published by the women's Republican state committee, for use as "a study program dealing with the resources, industries, institutions, and legislation of Minnesota" (1921. 74 p.). The pamphlet contains a large amount of useful information, conveniently arranged. One chapter, on "The Organization of the State," is largely historical, and the chapter on "The State and Education" contains an account of the organization and activities of the Minnesota Historical Society.

An evaluation of the life and work of Archbishop John Ireland, by John Talbot Smith, appears in the *Dublin Review* for January, February, March, 1921. The author emphasizes the prelate's influence in the public affairs both of church and of state: his opposition to Cahenslyism, by which he helped to "shut out the hateful race question from the great north-west" and from the United States; his sturdy Americanism which prompted him to advertise abroad the "success of American Catholics under a republic, to which Catholics were as loyal as to the Church"; his attitude towards such issues as the labor problem, prohibition, and Catholic education. The following interesting comment on two prominent Minnesotans occurs in the editor's note of introduction to the article: "With the late

James J. Hill, Archbishop Ireland achieved the position of an empire-builder, for the two practically made the north-west and became for thirty years the two vibrant and potent characters of those states."

Another volume has been added to the records of religious sects by C. Henry Smith, who has contributed a book entitled *The Mennonites: A Brief History of Their Origin and Later Development in Both Europe and America* (Berne, Indiana, 1920. 340 p.). The author discusses the Mennonite settlements of the Middle West in two chapters (15 and 16); in the first treating of the colonies which moved westward from Pennsylvania and Virginia, in the second dealing with the communities which resulted from the "great exodus" from Russia in the seventies of Mennonites who came to occupy "unsettled land in Manitoba, Dakota, Minnesota, Kansas, Nebraska, and Texas." Numerous references to the Minnesota community which was established at Mountain Lake in 1873 occur. In the neighborhood of this village in the southwestern part of the state, the reader learns, "about one hundred families settled" and "there are at present a number of flourishing congregations" (p. 263).

In its issues of February 10, March 3, 10, 24, and 31, and April 21, the *Minnesota Alumni Weekly* publishes a "series of reminiscences" of early university life entitled "Swaddling Clothes." The author is Mr. Walter S. Pardee, a member of the class of 1877, whose "recollections even antedate Dr. Folwell's for the latter came to Minnesota in 1869, and the former began at the University 'Prep' in the fall of 1868." Mr. Pardee describes the university's preparatory school and the three instructors who conducted it during the first two years; he records the names and in some cases the experiences of students who came from Minneapolis, St. Anthony, St. Paul, and Stillwater to the embryonic center of learning; and he devotes an entire article to a tribute to Dr. Folwell.

In the *Minneapolis Journal* for March 27, Charles F. Sidener, professor of chemistry in the University of Minnesota, describes that institution as it was when he entered it as a freshman in 1877. A portrait of Professor Sidener accompanies the article.

The members of the Pioneer Riverman's Association gathered at the Midway Café in St. Paul on March 26 for their annual meeting. Captain Fred A. Bill of St. Paul, the retiring president of the association, provided entertainment by reading extracts from the memoirs of Captain Stephen B. Hanks, whose river experiences began in 1842. The substance of some of these extracts and a portrait of Captain Hanks are published with an account of the meeting in the *St. Paul Pioneer Press* for March 27. A bill of lading, dated April 3, 1849, for goods which were shipped from St. Louis to Stillwater, is reproduced in the *Pioneer Press* of March 20 in connection with an account of some of the river experiences of William Cairncross, the oldest member of the association to attend this year's meeting.

The first instalment of "The Life and Adventures of Capt. Stephen B. Hanks, A Cousin of Abraham Lincoln, and a Pilot and Captain on the Upper Mississippi River for Seventy-two Years" is published in the *Saturday Evening Post* of Burlington, Iowa, for March 26. The narrative, which was dictated by Captain Hanks during the years 1904 to 1908, has been edited by Captain Fred A. Bill of St. Paul. The final chapter of the "Tourist's Manual and Guide to the Scenes, Legends and Cities of the Upper Mississippi River," also edited by Mr. Bill (see *ante*, 3:472), appears in the issue of the *Post* for December 25. The last few installments, those for October 23, November 6 and 27, and December 25, deal with St. Paul, Minneapolis, and neighboring points of interest. In addition, the *Post* publishes in its section headed "The Old Boats" three obituaries written by Mr. Bill. These recall the river services of Alexander G. Long, agent for the Diamond Jo Line at St. Paul during the eighties, October 30; of Captain Cypriano Buisson, December 4; and of Lawrence Brennan, December 18.

"From Courier's Pack to Airplane Pit, St. Paul Mail Service Spans 100 Years," is the title of an interesting survey of the development of postal service in and around St. Paul, which is published in the *St. Paul Pioneer Press* for November 28. It contains a somewhat detailed account, based upon and largely quoted from Marcus L. Hansen's *Old Fort Snelling*, of the hard-

ships endured and difficulties encountered by those who brought messages from the outside world to the first little group of white men at Fort Snelling. The origin and growth of the St. Paul post office also is briefly traced. The evolution of the city's postal facilities is visualized for the reader in a series of drawings and photographs.

A brief account of "The Kensington Rune Stone" is published in the "Miscellany" section of the *Catholic Historical Review* for October and another section of the same number contains a bibliography of the subject. Both are contributed by the Reverend Francis J. Schaefer.

An article entitled "The Strange Case of Jonathan Carver and the Name Oregon," by T. C. Elliott, in the *Quarterly* of the Oregon Historical Society for June, has much of interest to students of upper Mississippi Valley history. The career and explorations of Carver are discussed at some length in connection with an attempt to discover the origin of the name Oregon, of which the first known use in print was in Carver's *Travels*.

A visitor to Minnesota in the year in which the territory was organized wrote a letter about his experiences and observations to the editor of an Ohio paper, the *Eaton Register*, and the letter was published in the issue of that paper for August 30, 1849. From a copy of this issue sent to Minneapolis recently, the *Minneapolis Journal* of February 27 presents the substance of the letter in an article entitled "Power Predicted for Minneapolis of 72 Years Ago."

Some interesting incidents in the life of a Union soldier during the Civil War are presented in a narrative by Senator Knute Nelson in the *Minneapolis Tribune* for December 26. Senator Nelson tells how he spent the three Christmas days which passed while he was a member of Company B, Fourth Wisconsin Volunteer Infantry; and he includes the story of how he was wounded and taken prisoner "before Port Hudson" on June 14, 1863. A portrait of "Senator Nelson at the age of 18, in army uniform" is published with the article.

Some incidents about General Horatio P. Van Cleve and the horse which he used during the Civil War are recounted in a brief article in the *Minneapolis Tribune* for December 5. It is accompanied by a portrait of General Van Cleve and by a picture of the barn, in which his horse was housed, back of the old Van Cleve residence in Minneapolis.

"New Ulm Indian Massacre Survivor Tells Story of Flight of Child Refugees" is the heading under which, in the *Minneapolis Journal* of March 27, M. N. Mestead of Fertile, Iowa, tells the story of his experiences during the Sioux Outbreak of 1862.

One of the Minnesota Historical Society's most valuable manuscripts, President Lincoln's order for the execution of thirty-nine Indians who participated in the Sioux Massacre of 1862, has been the subject of a number of newspaper articles. The issues of the *Minneapolis Tribune* for February 13, the *St. Paul Daily News* for January 23, and the *Fairmont Daily Sentinel* for January 29 contain articles giving the substance of the document and Colonel Stephen Miller's account of the hanging. In addition, the *News* reproduces the original document, and the *Sentinel* presents Mrs. Abbie Gardner Sharp's experiences in the massacre of 1857.

The *Minneapolis Journal,* in its column entitled "What Other People Think," recently has given space to two discussions of Minnesota history interest. The first is concerned with the massacre of the Jewett family by a group of Indians under the leadership of "Jack" Campbell in May, 1865, and the subsequent lynching of the latter at Mankato. The discussion is opened by Joseph Bookwalter of Minneapolis, who in boyhood was a neighbor of the Jewetts, in a letter published in the *Journal* for October 6. Other letters on the subject appear in the issues for October 11, 14, 16, and 21, and the contributors include G. D. McCubrey of Moorhead and Judge George W. Mead of Mankato. An article in the *Journal* for September 26 entitled "Was Little Crow Hanged Without Trial by Minnesota Governor," in which Dr. E. L. Boothby of Hammond, Wisconsin, claims that the

Sioux chief was hanged at Mankato during the winter after the outbreak and that his identity was kept secret because "he was captured in Canada and brought back without extradition at a time when relations between England and America were strained," is the incentive for the second discussion. The generally accepted story of the shooting of Little Crow near Hutchinson in the summer of 1863 is presented by Doris C. Day of Fairmont in a letter published October 21, and this version is supported by Dan Flynn of Perham, J. M. Lambert of Emily, and C. S. Benson of Minneapolis in the issues of November 1 and 6, and December 4.

Two unusually severe "Pioneer Day Blizzards in Minnesota" are described in the *Brown County Journal* of New Ulm for January 8, by Richard Pfefferle Sr. He presents detailed pictures of Fort Ridgely during the terrific storm of February 14, 1866, and of New Ulm in the blizzard of January 7, 1873.

The Fergus Falls Tornado Relief Commission, appointed by Governor Burnquist in 1919, has published a *Report* (43 p.) which will some day be an interesting historical document. It contains a "History of the Fund," detailed lists of the receipts ($257,337.34) and the disbursements ($220,811.78), and an account of "The Return of the Surplus." The Honorable Elmer E. Adams of Fergus Falls was chairman of the commission.

In some of the more interesting of his sketches of "St. Paul Before This" in recent numbers of the *St. Paul Daily News,* Benjamin Backnumber presents a catalogue of the chief acts of the first territorial legislature, January 2; the story of the enthusiasm for railroads out of which arose the "five million dollar loan," December 5; a sketch of the lengthy contest which ended in "Windom's defeat for the Senate" in 1883, January 23; an account of the "disgraceful surrender" of the Third Minnesota Volunteer Infantry under Colonel Henry C. Lester at Murfreesboro, December 19; some details of the career of "W. F. Davidson, Boatman and Builder," November 28; an obituary of Felix C. Carel, teacher of French at Central High School for

thirty-five years, who died recently in France, February 20; a description of the "Indian beggar dance," December 12; and an enumeration of the twenty-nine hotel fires which occurred in St. Paul between 1852 and 1880, March 20.

Mr. John Talman, newspaper librarian of the Minnesota Historical Society and a former newspaper reporter and correspondent, outlines his recollections of two prominent St. Paulites, Joseph A. Wheelock and James J. Hill, in articles in the issues of the *St. Paul Pioneer Press* for October 24 and 31. In the first article the author describes the character and work of the man under whom he worked for twenty-two years and who for forty-four years was editor of the *St. Paul Daily Press* and its successor the *Pioneer Press;* in the second article Mr. Talman gives the substance of some of his interviews with the great railroad builder. Portraits of Mr. Wheelock and Mr. Hill accompany the articles.

The history of the St. Paul Institute, with an outline of its activities, is sketched in the *St. Paul Pioneer Press* for November 14. Portraits of Mr. Charles W. Ames and Dr. Arthur Sweeney, the men who, in 1908, "conceived the idea of forming an association to promote knowledge and better citizenship," appear with the article.

The story, quoted chiefly from J. Fletcher Williams' *History of the City of Saint Paul,* of the battle of Kaposia between the Sioux and the Chippewa, from which Battle Creek takes its name, appears in the *St. Paul Daily News* for February 20. It is published as an argument for the purchase of the site by the city and its preservation as a natural park.

An article on the early methods of fighting fires in St. Paul and on some of the city's big fires is published in the *St. Paul Daily News* for January 9.

Little Canada, the village near St. Paul which was founded by a group of French-Canadians in 1842, is the subject of an article in the *St. Paul Daily News* for November 14. The present dilapidated condition of the village is described, and stories, recalled by the headstones in the village cemetery, about original

inhabitants are included. Pictures of some of the tombstones and a photograph of the first log cabin built in the village illustrate the article.

Mrs. David Day, who came to St. Paul in 1858, tells how the pioneers celebrated Thanksgiving Day, in the *St. Paul Daily News* for November 21. A portrait of Mrs. Day appears with the article.

The *Western Magazine* in its issues for October, November, and February reprints in part an article on the history of Fort Snelling, by General Richard W. Johnson, which was first published in volume 8 of the *Minnesota Historical Collections.* The one hundredth anniversary of the founding of Fort Snelling is the occasion for the reappearance of the article.

Sketches and portraits of Treffle Auge, who operated the ferry between Fort Snelling and Mendota from the early sixties until 1892, appear in the *Minneapolis Tribune* for November 7 and the *St. Paul Pioneer Press* for December 19.

Interesting information about the past and the present of Minneapolis is skillfully interwoven in two articles by Clarence R. Chaney in the *Bulletin* of the American Institute of Banking for January and April. The articles were occasioned by the fact that the convention of the institute is to be held in Minneapolis in July.

A pamphlet entitled *Minneapolis Charter Problems,* by William Anderson of the University of Minnesota, has been published by the Woman's Club of Minneapolis and the Fifth District League of Woman Voters (45 p.). The value of this analysis of the present situation is enhanced by pertinent information of an historical character.

An article on Minneapolis, by Allen D. Albert, is number 8 of a series entitled " How We Americans Live " in *Collier's, The National Weekly* for December 25. The factors which have caused the rapid growth of the city and its opportunities for future development are discussed. Portions of the article are reprinted in the *Minneapolis Journal* for December 28.

During January, February, and March the *Minneapolis Journal* published a "series of interviews with interesting residents of Minneapolis" who are "intimately identified with the history of the city, its achievements and growth." The subjects of the articles, each of which is accompanied by a portrait, follow: Dr. James K. Hosmer, librarian of the Minneapolis Public Library for twelve years, January 23; Benjamin F. Nelson, lumber manufacturer, January 30; Edmund J. Phelps, who helped to organize the Minnesota Loan and Trust Company, February 6; John D. Condit, railroad conductor, February 13; William de la Barre, mill engineer, February 20; Henry Doerr, president of the Minneapolis Drug Company, February 27; Michael Mealey, a member of the Minneapolis police force for nearly thirty years, March 6; Edward E. Nicholson, dean of student affairs in the University of Minnesota, March 13; John F. Downey, "professor of mathematics at the University of Minnesota 34 years and dean of the college of science, literature and the arts in that institution 14 years," March 20; and Anson S. Brooks, lumber manufacturer, March 27.

Brief sketches by Arthur W. Warnock of the lives and public services of the "four grand old men" of Minneapolis, Dr. William W. Folwell, Dr. Cyrus Northrop, Charles M. Loring, and George A. Brackett, are published in the *Minneapolis Journal* for December 16.

At the request of the St. Anthony Falls chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution, the Minneapolis city council on January 14 passed a resolution naming the bridge at Third Avenue, which passes directly over the falls, the St. Anthony Falls Bridge. The chapter has agreed to place at either end of the bridge a bronze tablet inscribed with a brief record of the discovery and history of the falls.

Two Minneapolitans' recollections of Lincoln are published in articles in the *Minneapolis Tribune* for February 13. Mr. Joseph Challan, who lived in Springfield in his youth, recalls Lincoln's standing in that community and gives his boyhood impressions of the final Lincoln-Douglas debate. A more "intimate picture of Lincoln" is drawn by Mrs. E. J. Gilmore, for the great presi-

dent visited her father's farm in Logan County, Illinois, whenever he attended court sessions at the county seat.

Dr. Lysander P. Foster, Mr. Albert Benham, and Major Edwin Clark, three Minneapolis pioneers, tell how they celebrated their first Christmas days in Minneapolis in the *Minneapolis Journal* for December 26.

An interview with Mrs. Samuel B. Cowdrey of Baraboo, Wisconsin, published in the *Minneapolis Journal* for November 7, gives her impressions of Minneapolis after an absence of more than forty years. Mrs. Cowdrey also recalls some of the experiences of her life in Minnesota between 1859 and 1877.

In the *Minneapolis Journal* for March 6, conditions in early Minneapolis are recalled by Charles H. Smith, who has completed his "50th year of continuous service in one firm," the Hennepin County Savings Bank. His comments on the banking business during the seventies are of special interest.

"40 Day Fast by Dr. Tanner of Minneapolis Recalled by MacSwiney's Strike," is the title of an article in the *Minneapolis Journal* for October 3. It describes the excitement aroused by Dr. Henry S. Tanner's long abstinence in the interest of science in 1880.

The growth of the milling industry in Minneapolis as reflected in the careers of two men, John Kraft and Thomas L. Clark, is outlined in articles in the issues of the *Minneapolis Journal* for February 27 and March 27. In the first article Mr. Kraft, who is said to have "made flour enough to fill barrels that would encircle world three times," makes some interesting comparisons between the milling methods in vogue before the great explosion of 1878 and those which have been developed since. Mr. Kraft also recalls the circumstances which brought him to America in 1872 and the outstanding events in his long experience as a miller for the Washburn-Crosby Company. The illustrations consist of a portrait of Mr. Kraft, a picture of the Minneapolis mills after the explosion of 1878, and a recent picture of the milling district. In the second article, which is accompanied by a portrait of Mr. Clark, his steady advancement from a sweeper and

oiler in the Palisade Flour Mill of Leonard Day and Company to president of the Clarx Milling Company is sketched.

"Minneapolis Mills and Millers in Eighty-two" is the title of an article in the *Northwestern Miller* for October 6, which was written by the editor of the magazine, Mr. William C. Edgar, for the *Minneapolis Journal* and was first published in that paper on September 5. The value of the article is greatly augmented in the *Miller* by the addition of a series of excellent illustrations, consisting of early views of the Falls of St. Anthony and the milling district and portraits of about twenty-five of the men who built up Minneapolis' great industry. The article is made up for the most part of sketches of the careers of these men, and it concludes with some enlightening statistics of the growth of the milling industry since 1882.

Plans for "a reunion of teachers in Minneapolis first night schools" are set forth and something of the history of both the teachers and the schools is presented in an article in the *Minneapolis Journal* for March 27. A list of the men who were appointed by the board of education to teach evening classes in 1887 is included.

The story of the "City's First Trolley Car" and of its "first run through the old Bridge square" in 1889 is told in the *Minneapolis Tribune* for January 30. With the article appears a picture of the old car, which is now "parked on the University of Minnesota campus."

In the *Minneapolis Tribune* for January 30 are two articles each outlining the history of a leading business concern of Minneapolis and each occasioned by the selection of a new location for the concern. The first article recalls the establishment of the New England Furniture and Carpet Company in 1887 in a portion of the building from which it will remove shortly and depicts the growth of the business; the second describes the expansion during thirty-five years of the jewelry firm of J. B. Hudson and Son.

The history of the block on Hennepin avenue between Fourth and Fifth streets in Minneapolis, on which stood "for 50 years

the residence of the late Levi M. Stewart who, until his death in 1910, protected it from the encroachments of Minneapolis' commercial expansion," is sketched in the *Minneapolis Journal* for November 14. A portrait of Mr. Stewart and pictures of his property as it appeared formerly and as it looks today appear with the article.

A letter of interest to students of American literature is published in the *Minneapolis Tribune* for October 17 from the original in the possession of the Minnesota Historical Society. It was written sometime in the eighties by Alex Hesler, who tells how, in 1852, he made the daguerrotype of Minnehaha Falls which later reached Longfellow's hands and inspired the poet to write "Hiawatha." An early picture of the falls illustrates the letter.

The efforts of a little group of Norwegian pioneers to continue in the New World the religious practices of the homeland are described and their success during the half century from 1869 to 1919 is recorded in an illustrated volume entitled *St. John's Norwegian Lutheran Church, Northfield, Minn.* (Northfield, 1920. 105 p.). A history of the church by the Reverend Olav Lee, including biographies of its various pastors, is followed by short accounts of the fiftieth anniversary celebration in 1919 and of the activities of numerous church organizations. There is also a record of "St. John's War Service."

The annual meeting and dinner of the Winona County Old Settlers' Association, held at Winona on February 22, was attended by about three hundred people. The names of the twenty-seven members of the association who died during the past year, each followed by the dates of their birth, death, and arrival in Minnesota, are published with an account of the meeting in the *Winona Republican-Herald* for February 22.

General C. C. Andrews, secretary of the state forestry board, presents a "Brief History of Itasca State Park" in two instalments in the September and October numbers of the *North Woods,* the bulletin of the Minnesota Forestry Association. Beginning with an account of Schoolcraft's explorations, he

touches upon Brower's influence in securing the establishment of the park, sets forth the stages by which the state secured title to lands within the park, and describes the improvements which have made the region a mecca for tourists.

A pamphlet entitled *Looking Backwards or Sidelights on the Early Founders of Duluth,* by Jerome E. Cooley (24 p.), contains many interesting items of local history. It consists of an address which was delivered at the annual meeting of the Duluth Board of Realtors on December 10, 1920.

The Stillwater Community Service has published a pamphlet entitled *Stillwater Social Survey* (1920. 71 p.), which embodies the results of "a study of social conditions and activities in Stillwater as a basis for a constructive program of community well being, instituted by the general extension division, University of Minnesota, and conducted by the Stillwater Community Service and the department of sociology, University of Minnesota." Only a few pages are devoted to the historical background; but the information on such topics as population, death rate and birth rate, industry, housing, child welfare, public utilities, recreation, education, and religious activities is of the sort which will be much sought after by future historians seeking to understand life in Minnesota at the present time. Dr. Manuel C. Elmer of the University of Minnesota was the director of the survey.

Two Minnesota towns with histories of exceptional interest, Faribault and Hastings, are planning to depict their stories in pageant form during the coming summer.

The days when the lumber industry was in its prime at Winona and Stillwater are recalled in an article in the *St. Paul Dispatch* for December 17.

The "Legend of Ea Sha, the Red Rock," as told by Mr. Franklin C. Ford, a pioneer resident of the village which takes its name from the ancient Indian shrine, is included in an article in the *St. Paul Daily News* for November 28. An inaccurate account of the Methodist mission which was moved from Kaposia to Red Rock by the Reverend B. T. Kavenaugh in 1841 also

is given. A site in the village is now owned by the Methodist Episcopal Church and used as a summer camping-ground for revival meetings, and here the painted rock, a picture of which accompanies the article, is preserved.

A "Brief History Concerning the Village of Little Sauk," published in the *Little Sauk Boomer* for December 20, is an outline of the commercial progress of the town during the past four years.

The chapter on Dodge County in Dr. Upham's *Minnesota Geographic Names* (*Minnesota Historical Collections*, vol. 17) is reprinted, without reference to the volume from which it is taken, in the *Mantorville Express* for February 25.

The Reverend E. E. Saunders is the author of a series of sketches of "Red River and North Dakota Pioneers" which are published with numerous portraits in the *Courier-News* of Fargo for February 20 and 27, March 6 and 27, and April 10.

The Minnesota Territorial Pioneers and the St. Croix Valley Old Settlers' Association held a joint meeting at Stillwater on October 6, to celebrate with John Daubney of Taylor's Falls his one hundred and first birthday anniversary. Sketches and portraits of Mr. Daubney appear in the October 3 issues of the *St. Paul Daily News* and the *Minneapolis Journal.*

War History Activities

In accordance with plans formulated at a meeting held November 30, the Minnesota War Records Commission in January submitted to the Governor, and through him to the legislature, a review of its activities during the biennium 1919–21 together with recommendations for the continuation and completion of its work. Briefly, this report was to the effect that the commission, though financed on a very modest scale, had succeeded in assembling a mass of important local war history material and was prepared, with the requisite support, to undertake its major task under the law — the preparation and publication of a comprehensive history of Minnesota in the World War. Recommendations for the commencement of this work were offered on the

basis of a tentative program for the publication of an eight-volume work within six years at an average cost of fifteen thousand dollars a year. Three volumes of the proposed history would contain a roster of the names and brief statements of the services of all Minnesota soldiers, sailors, and marines, and of certain groups of civilians engaged in special war work; one volume, a history of the 151st United States Field Artillery written by Lieutenant Governor Louis L. Collins, who served with this regiment; three volumes, a narrative and documentary history of the state's large and varied contributions to the winning of the war; and one volume, a condensed narrative re-presentation of the whole subject, intended primarily for distribution to ex-service men as provided by law. As the first step in the realization of this plan, the commission proposed, during the biennium 1921–23, to publish Mr. Collins' history and to prepare the roster and one volume of the general history for the press. For this purpose an appropriation of fifteen thousand dollars a year was requested.

Before action was taken on this request, a new factor appeared in the form of a bill, introduced by Senator Samuel G. Rask and other Spanish-American War veterans in the legislature, whereby the law creating the Minnesota War Records Commission (*Laws,* 1919, ch. 284) would be amended so as to provide for the publication, before the projected World War history, of a volume on Minnesota in the Spanish-American War and the Philippine Insurrection. It appeared that an earlier commission, appointed for the purpose of preparing such a volume for the Spanish War period (*Laws,* 1903, ch. 249), had compiled rosters of the four Minnesota volunteer regiments in service at that time, but that funds needed for publication, though from time to time urgently requested of the legislature, had not been forthcoming. Since the state had published a work on *Minnesota in the Civil and Indian Wars, 1861–1865* and appeared about to do the same for the World War period, it was felt that now was the time to give similar recognition to participants in the intervening conflicts, and the bill became law.

Later, in one of the general appropriation acts, the commission was granted the sum of ten thousand dollars for each year of the coming biennium. This enables the commission, not, it is

true, to proceed along the lines and on the scale proposed, but to complete and issue the history of a long neglected period and to make a beginning, at least, upon the work for which it was originally established. It is expected that a volume entitled *Minnesota in the Spanish-American War and the Philippine Insurrection* and possibly one volume of the World War history will be issued within the biennium.

In December, 1920, the commission's activities in Minneapolis and Hennepin County bore fruit in the organization of a strong county war records committee composed of the following individuals: Miss Gratia Countryman, librarian of the Minneapolis Public Library; Mrs. May H. Dills, county superintendent of schools; Mr. Herbert H. Gardner, vice president and manager of the Minneapolis Civic and Commerce Association; Colonel George E. Leach, former commander of the 151st United States Field Artillery and a member of the Minnesota War Records Commission; Captain George H. Mallon, one of Pershing's "hundred heroes"; Mr. Harry A. Montgomery, a county commissioner; Mrs. Albert W. Strong, president of the Minneapolis Woman's Community Council; Mr. Paul J. Thompson, an attorney; and Mr. James D. Williams, a member of the Minneapolis City Council. At the organization meeting on December 15 Colonel Leach was elected chairman, and Miss Countryman, vice chairman; these two, with Captain Mallon, being chosen to serve as an executive committee. Mr. Cecil W. Shirk, field agent of the Minnesota War Records Commission, was employed as secretary on a part time basis, and the active conduct of the work was placed in his hands. With funds from the city and county aggregating six thousand dollars and with headquarters established in the courthouse, the committee has launched an active campaign for the collection and preservation of Hennepin County's war records. Special attention is given for the present to listing and compiling records of the county's "Gold Stars." Wide publicity has been given this work in the city by the Minneapolis Woman's Community Council in connection with one of its house-to-house canvasses and in the country districts through the medium of the county school superintendent and teachers.

The compilation of the Minnesota "Gold Star Roll" is progressing steadily through the untiring efforts of Mrs. Lillian C. Goodenow of St. Paul, who has immediate charge of this part of the work of the state commission. During the six months ending March 31, 1921, about thirteen hundred records of Minnesotans who lost their lives in the service during the World War were added to the six hundred previously completed (see *ante*, 3: 543).

The adjutant general of the state has deposited with the commission a number of important files of records relating to Minnesotans who contributed military service during the World War. One of these files is composed of photostatic copies of the Minnesota draft registration lists now in the government archives at Washington, and it supplies the state with a record of the names, addresses, and order and serial numbers of all who registered for the draft in Minnesota. There is also an alphabetical roster of all those who entered the service from Minnesota, together with the somewhat more detailed records from which this roster is derived. Most important of all is a file of official records of the military or naval services of individuals, which will ultimately cover the entire body of Minnesota service men. These records are being compiled by the war and navy departments in accordance with the plan of the federal government to supply each state with concise statements on cards of the services of all the men furnished by that state in the World War. Some thousands of the Minnesota records have already been received and, according to announcements from Washington, the file will be complete by July 1, 1921.

The war records commission is fortunate in having acquired the custody of the records of the Minnesota Commission of Public Safety, the state's war-time governing body, under special authorization given at its final meeting on December 15. These records include not only complete files of the correspondence, record-books, and papers of the state headquarters of the Minnesota Commission of Public Safety, but also the files and records of a number of its county branches, special committees, and auxiliary agencies. As in the case of all other acquisitions

of the war records commission, these files will pass ultimately into the permanent keeping of the Minnesota Historical Society.

From Mr. George E. Ingersoll of St. Paul the commission has received an important file of correspondence and records relating to the activities of the Military Training Camps Association in recruiting and examining men for officers' training camps and for various special branches of the service such as the signal corps, the construction division of the quartermaster corps, and the naval reserve. Beginning with January, 1918, this material covers the period of Mr. Ingersoll's connection with the association in an administrative capacity, first as state chairman and later as chairman for the Northwest States Division, a district ultimately including Minnesota, Iowa, North and South Dakota, and northern Wisconsin.

From the bureau of women and children of the Minnesota Department of Labor and Industries, the commission has received the original records of a state survey of women in industry made in 1918 by this bureau and a subcommittee of the women's division of the Council of National Defense. The results of this survey are summarized in a report prepared by Dr. Carol Aronovici, formerly special agent for the department, and published by it as a pamphlet entitled *Women in Industry in Minnesota in 1918* (1920. 35 p.).

A war history of Martin County, compiled by Arthur M. Nelson, has been published by the Sentinel Publishing Company of Fairmont (1920. 316, xxxii p.), and a similar history of Wilkin County, edited by W. Harvey James, has been issued by the publishers of the *Breckenridge Telegram* (1919. 130, xxxiii p.). Both histories are of the now familiar souvenir type, being devoted primarily to individual photographs and brief records of local service men and war workers. The Martin County history, however, is exceptional in several respects. Accounts of individual services are unusually detailed and bear evidence of having been compiled with painstaking care. Contributions of more than strictly local significance appear in a chapter setting forth many interesting facts about local service men studied as a group, and

in one of the personal narratives which deals with the work in various parts of the state of a secret agent of the department of justice. It is interesting to note further that the publisher has evidently found in the *County War History Prospectus* compiled by the state war records commission some suggestions of practical value.

The experiences of the war records committees of St. Louis and Ramsey counties have demonstrated that the work in the large urban centers cannot be completed satisfactorily with the appropriations, amounting to six thousand dollars, which were originally authorized (*Laws*, 1919, ch. 288). Consequently, these committees and the Hennepin County committee joined in securing the enactment of a law whereby the local governing bodies of their communities are permitted to make, during a period ending December 31, 1923, additional appropriations of not more than five thousand dollars a year in any one county for the use of the local war records committees (*Laws*, 1921, ch. 262).

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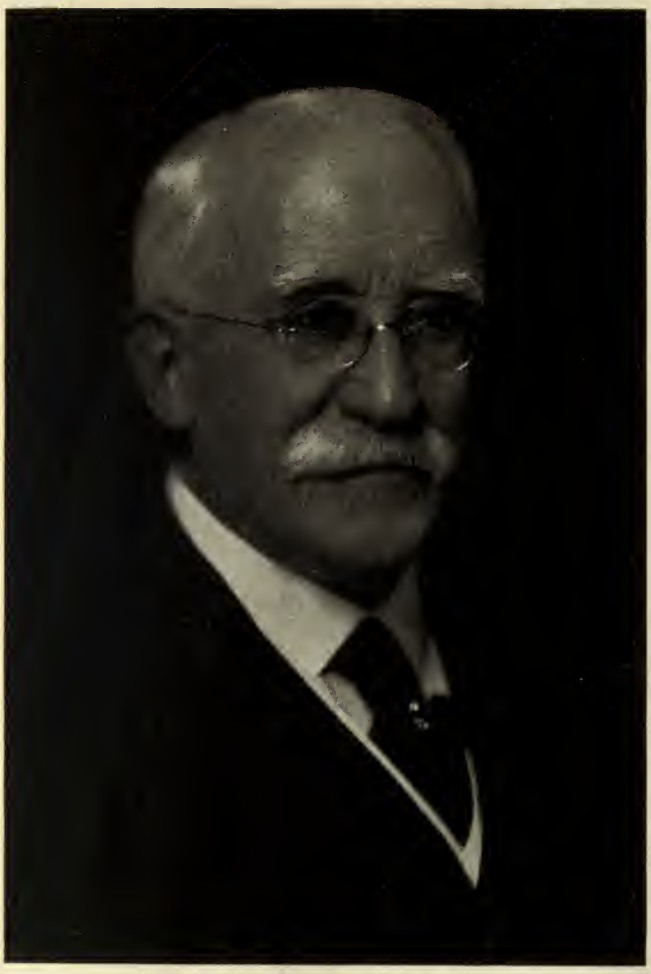

Charles D. Noyes.

CHARLES PHELPS NOYES

In the death of Charles Phelps Noyes on April 30, 1921, the Minnesota Historical Society lost a former president and one of the most valuable members of its executive committee and the community lost a very useful citizen. A sketch of his life cannot fail to be of interest, for his career was in many ways typical of a large number of men who, after the pioneer period in Minnesota history, came from the East, and more particularly from New England, and by their lives and activities did much to transform a frontier commonwealth into the present fully developed American state.

Mr. Noyes was born on April 24, 1842, at Lyme, Connecticut, and came of the soundest New England stock. His emigrant ancestor, the Reverend James Noyes (1608–56), son of the Reverend William Noyes of University College, Oxford, later rector of Cholderton, Wiltshire, England, was matriculated at Brazenose College, Oxford, but did not graduate. Later he emigrated to New England because he could not comply with the ceremonies of the Church of England. Accompanied by his wife, he took passage on the "Mary and John" and arrived in Boston in 1634. Shortly afterwards he settled at Newbury, Massachusetts, as pastor. Here he resided for the remainder of his life. He was an active member of his order, which at that time contained the educated and ruling members of the community. He was "dearly loved" by the Reverend John Wilson of Boston, the opponent of Anne Hutchinson, and he published various religious pamphlets, such as *A Catechism for Children, The Temple Measured,* and *Moses and Aaron.* His son, the Reverend James Noyes (1640–1719), also was a man of prominence. He graduated from Harvard College in 1659 and then became pastor at Stonington, Connecticut, for the remaining fifty-five years of his life. He took a leading part in the founding of Yale College, his name ap-

pearing first in the list of ministers who founded the college and who became its first trustees.

The intermediate ancestors of Mr. Noyes were farmers about Stonington. They held militia commissions and fought in the various Indian wars. His grandfather, Thomas Noyes, served as lieutenant in the Trenton and Princeton campaign in the Revolution. Later he was for years president of the bank at Westerly, Rhode Island, which then was a position of much dignity. He served the last twenty years of his life, first as deputy, and then as senator, in the Rhode Island legislature, and he was also a member of the famous Hartford Convention. Among the prominent ancestors of Mr. Noyes were the famous Anne Hutchinson of Boston, Governors Coddington and Sanford of Rhode Island, and Deputy Governor Willoughby of Massachusetts. The others lived mainly in Rhode Island where they had located on account of sympathy with the opinions of Anne Hutchinson, who had been driven out of Massachusetts.

Mr. Noyes himself was deeply interested in and rightly proud of his ancestors, and one cannot help believing that their worthy example deeply influenced his conduct through life. He spent much time in tracing the various branches of his family, and in 1907 he published the results of his labors in a finely illustrated and most interesting book, the *Noyes-Gilman Ancestry,* on which the foregoing sketch has been based and to which the reader is directed for a fuller account of the Noyes family.

In this volume too is preserved a most interesting picture of the home at Lyme in which Mr. Noyes grew up and which seems to have been of the best New England type. His father, Daniel Rogers Noyes (1793–1877), after some wanderings finally settled in Lyme in 1820 and opened a general store. The business was never satisfactory, owing to the limited possibilities of so small a place. Soon after settling in Lyme, in 1827, he married Phoebe Griffin Lord and bought an old house

next to the village church, the congregation of which they both joined during a revival in 1831. Later he led in the singing, and became superintendent of the Sunday school and a deacon; his home was a stopping-place for all ministers, missionaries, and lecturers who passed through the town. His wife was a remarkable woman. She had spent much of her girlhood in New York where she had studied French and taken up miniature painting. The charming frontispiece in the *Noyes-Gilman Ancestry* is a reproduction of a painting which she made of her children. With her wider experience she was able to make her new home in Lyme a center of social life for the young people. She was fond of tableaux, charades, rhyming games, even of dancing, which at that period was not at all approved, and was the intellectual leader of the village.

It was in such a home that Mr. Noyes, the youngest of seven children, was brought up. "Our Sundays," he wrote in later years, "were strictly observed, though not made an unpleasant memory by too rigid rules. There was never the question, 'Who is going to church?' It was assumed as a matter of course that all would go. After morning service my aunts and other friends came to our house, were given home-made currant wine and cake or other refreshments, and spent a little time talking over family affairs. After the afternoon service, we had family prayers, reading and prayer, and then singing for an hour or more. . . . Usually after singing, if it was pleasant father took us for a walk to the burying-ground. Sometimes before the lights were lit, mother had us recite the Shorter Catechism. She knew it by heart, questions as well as answers, and never needed to refer to the text." At that time Sunday in New England began at six o'clock on Saturday evening; and Mr. Noyes used to tell with some amusement how the boys in the boarding-school he afterwards attended kept either Saturday or Sunday evening, according to their invitations, and often got in arrears and were obliged to keep them both for a week or two.

As a boy Mr. Noyes attended the village school. When he was fifteen he left Lyme to take a temporary job on some United States Army work at Springfield, Massachusetts. When this work was completed he attended the Springfield High School, but after one winter he returned to Lyme to attend school and to work on his father's books. In the fall of 1858 he went to Williston Seminary, Easthampton, Massachusetts, to prepare for Yale. Among the students at this time there was a craze for chess, in which he joined. But what was of more importance was the beginning of his coin and autograph collections, in which he took great interest throughout his life. The former was started largely through the interest of Professor Hitchcock, who gave him a general letter of introduction, which enabled him at odd times to examine the kegs of old copper coins of the neighboring tollgate keepers. It was in this way that he obtained his very complete collection of old United States copper cents and other minor coins. This entire collection with his later accumulations has now come by the gift of Mrs. Noyes, made in accordance with her husband's original wish, into the permanent possession of the Minnesota Historical Society.

Pecuniary considerations forced Mr. Noyes to leave Williston Seminary in the spring of 1860, and, though he spent some time studying French in a French family, he was finally forced to give up any idea of going to Yale. Accordingly in the fall of 1860, at the age of eighteen, Mr. Noyes became a bookkeeper with Gilman, Son, and Company, a banking house in New York, at an annual salary of $150. During the course of the following year this salary was raised by gradual steps to $400 a year, but with all his New England thrift his year's expenses amounted to $444.17; and, notwithstanding an offer of $800 a year if he would remain, he accepted a loan of $1,000 from his elder brother to buy a part interest in his father's business at Lyme, to which town he returned.

Though pecuniarly unremunerative, his work at bookkeeping had by no means been a failure. He received during this

period valuable training that was to stand him in good stead throughout a long business career. Here he acquired a thorough knowledge of bookkeeping in its various branches. He always wrote a very handsome and perfectly legible hand, and his figures were clear. He would not tolerate slovenly work in others, and he carried through life an accountant's idea of the importance of a proper attention to detail in all practical undertakings.

During his life in New York, Mr. Noyes joined the City Cadets, afterward called the Union Greys, which later became Company G of the Twenty-second New York Volunteer Infantry. In June, 1863, when Lee invaded Pennsylvania, this regiment was called out for the protection of Harrisburg. Mr. Noyes joined his company there, but after thirty days the regiment was recalled on account of the draft riots in New York. For this military service Mr. Noyes records that he received eleven dollars and one cent.

Shortly after his return to Lyme, in the fall of 1863, Mr. Noyes sold his interest in his father's general store and went west as far as Dubuque, Iowa, in search of a location where he might open a dry goods store, choosing this line because his brother-in-law was a wholesale dry goods merchant in New York. Finally he leased a store in Saginaw, Michigan, but almost immediately gave it up and removed to Port Huron, Michigan, where early in 1864 he opened a general merchandise store under the name of C. P. Noyes and Company.

Mr. Noyes remained in Port Huron for four years. This was the time of the oil craze, and Michigan as well as other regions had hopes. Consequently, Mr. Noyes, for himself as well as for Eastern friends, devoted some of his time to investigation of oil prospects of which nothing came. Finally he wound up the Port Huron business, intending to accept an offer to buy a third interest in an established wholesale grocery business in Detroit, Michigan. But his older brother, Daniel R. Noyes, had already moved to St. Paul, Minnesota, and had acquired control of Vawter, Pett, and Moulton, a small whole-

sale drug house, the name of which now became Noyes, Pett, and Company. His brother's health was so poor that Mr. Noyes felt obliged to decline his Detroit offer and, at the age of twenty-six, he came to St. Paul and joined his brother as junior partner in the new firm. By 1870 the brothers had bought out the other interests and the name of the firm became Noyes Brothers. Edward H. Cutler, son of a leading Boston wholesale druggist, had previously worked for the original firm, and he now entered the employment of Noyes Brothers. As the need for additional capital was beginning to be felt keenly, the brothers took him in as a junior partner on April 1, 1871, and the firm name assumed its final form of Noyes Brothers and Cutler.

The association of these three men proved to be very fortunate and happy, and the business was destined to be very successfully conducted by them and their sons for the next fifty years. At the time that Mr. Daniel R. Noyes took hold of the business it was at a very low ebb. It was located in a small store on lower East Third Street, there were less than ten employees, and the sales were under fifty thousand dollars a year. The gradual transformation of this rather unpromising business into the great mercantile establishment of the present day was made possible, of course, by the marvelous growth of St. Paul and the territory tributary to it during the next quarter of a century, but it could not have taken place without the hard work, enterprise, and business intelligence of the three new owners of the business.

While Daniel R. Noyes lived he owned the largest share in the business and was at its head, but his younger brother, who was possibly the keenest business man of the three partners, was equally active. In the first few years he traveled for the firm, covering the territory with horse and buggy, then the only possible way. This leisurely mode of travel through the country enabled Mr. Noyes to acquire an intimate knowledge of the firm's customers and their needs, which proved of great

value to him in the coming years. His training with Gilman, Son, and Company now stood him in good stead. The system of accounting he installed was destined to be maintained along the lines he had established for many years. But above all Mr. Noyes had the real trader's instinct which so many New Englanders possess. He was a shrewd buyer. There was nothing that he enjoyed more than making a good bargain for his firm. He was a prudent and careful manager, always watchful of expenses. Mr. Noyes and his partners always gave full time and long hours to the business, believing that it was only by constant personal attention that success could be obtained and that an example of devotion to work should be set for the employees. It was these traits, combined with the very careful economy of all the partners in their personal expenses, which enabled the new firm to weather the depression of 1873 and largely to increase its capital without the addition of any further money except from the yearly accumulation of saved profits. The sales began to show a constant increase, and after ten years passed the million dollar mark. The firm moved to larger quarters, first to Robert Street, and then to Sibley and Fifth Streets.

During these years of active participation in business, Mr. Noyes had other interests in the growing community. He had early joined the House of Hope Presbyterian Church, and soon was singing tenor in the choir. In 1873 he was chairman of the committee to procure the organ for the new church edifice at Fifth and Exchange streets. This instrument was obtained at a cost of three thousand dollars. In 1877 Mr. Noyes was elected a trustee of the church.

On September 1, 1874, at the age of thirty-two, Mr. Noyes married Miss Emily Hoffman Gilman, the daughter of his former employer and the sister of his elder brother's wife. Curiously enough, similar marriages of two brothers and two sisters had frequently occurred among his ancestors, a fact which he points out in the *Noyes-Gilman Ancestry*. He had

recently bought a house on the south side of Dayton Avenue, just west of where the cathedral now stands. Here he lived for a number of years and here two of his daughters were born. Several years later on a cold winter night the family was driven out by a fire, which destroyed a row of houses including his own. Later he purchased an old residence on the south side of Summit Avenue, just west of the old Henry M. Rice homestead, and here he lived for a number of years.

In 1881 Mr. and Mrs. Noyes took their first trip to Europe. At this time Mr. Noyes joined the Arundel Society, and many of its reproductions of the old masters were to be seen in his home in after years. While on this trip, too, he added very extensively to his coin collection. He made purchases everywhere, and he also obtained many additions to his collection by examining coins in the dishes in which tobacconists kept the money that they could not pass on.

Nearly every summer after this time Mr. Noyes spent at White Bear Lake, first at a cottage he had built on the mainland and later in cottages he erected on the island. The daily respite from the heat of the city explains, perhaps, why he was able to work so effectively through the long, hot summers of many years. Having sold the Summit Avenue home, Mr. Noyes lived in several rented houses until 1887, when he started building, at 89 Virginia Avenue, the home in which he was to live for the remainder of his life. This is an attractive frame house, of colonial architecture, always painted buff with white trimmings, and situated on a bend on the west side of the avenue just off of Summit Avenue. From it one catches pleasant glimpses of the bluffs across the river, seen between the houses on Summit Avenue.

In 1889, after his first trip to the Pacific coast, Mr. Noyes was occupied with plans for the new building which Mr. Cutler's father was erecting for the firm at Sixth and Sibley streets and in which the business is still conducted. The summer of 1892 he spent in Europe, but after that for the next

decade he did not leave St. Paul for any length of time. The end of the wonderful growth and prosperity of the eighties had now come. The firm had more than doubled its business in this time, but during the depression of 1893 the business was checked, though probably less so than that of most firms in St. Paul. Still it required the careful attention of its proprietors.

During the railroad strike of 1894 Mr. Noyes served on the local arbitration committee. As these troubles passed business soon began to recover, especially after the defeat of Bryan in 1896. In 1897 Mr. Noyes was elected president of the St. Paul Chamber of Commerce, his year of service covering a period of very active business revival. In the following year he was a member of the Minnesota commission appointed by the governor to represent the state at the Trans-Mississippi and International Exposition at Omaha.

For some time Noyes Brothers and Cutler had been the oldest name in the jobbing trade in St. Paul, and the firm had existed unchanged for a longer period than any other concern in the city. The business continued to grow and develop and by 1903 its capital had reached a million dollars, the amount at which it was to remain during the rest of Mr. Noyes's life. In 1908 his brother died and additional responsibilities devolved upon him as senior partner. The firm was at this time completing a large addition to its building in order to take care of the expanding business.

In the decade that followed 1900 the sons of the original partners were made full partners in the firm. Mr. Winthrop G. Noyes, Mr. Noyes's nephew, was admitted in 1900; his own son, Mr. C. Reinold Noyes, who had been graduated from Yale in 1905 and had immediately entered the business, was, soon after his marriage, admitted as a partner in 1910; and at the end of the same year the son of his partner, Mr. Cutler, gave up the practice of law to become a partner in the business. This admission of the members of the younger generation

and their gradual assumption of the larger responsibilities was a source of pride to Mr. Noyes. He looked forward with pleasure to the prospect of their being able to carry forward the business successfully after he should retire.

For over twenty years a substantial part of the assets of the business had been tied up in real estate that the firm no longer intended to use. In 1912 the Smith Park Realty Corporation was formed to take over this property. Mr. Noyes was a director and president of this company and took an active part in its management. In the summer of 1915, in pursuance of the policy of putting the business in shape for the younger generation to handle, the old partnership was dissolved and Noyes Brothers and Cutler, Incorporated, was formed with Mr. Noyes as president and the other partners as officers and directors. At this time the trustees of his brother's estate sold their interest in the business and the junior officers acquired larger interests, which thereafter were increased yearly under an agreement with the two senior owners.

The prosperity of the drug business enabled Mr. Noyes to make investments in other local industries — investments which in after years proved very profitable and took a considerable share of his time and attention. The first venture in this line was made in 1887, when, through his friendship with Mr. Charles W. Ames, he invested in the stock of the West Publishing Company, publishers of law books and of the *National Reporter System.* Mr. Noyes was made a director of this company in the fall of that year, and after 1908 he was its vice president. During this period the company became one of the largest publishers of law books in the country, doing a nation-wide business and known perhaps the most widely of St. Paul's industries.

In 1895 Mr. Noyes began acquiring stock in the St. Paul Fire and Marine Insurance Company, which had been established in the early days of the city. Mr. Charles H. Bigelow, another friend of Mr. Noyes, was president of this company,

which was one of the largest and most successful of the fire insurance companies in the Middle West. Mr. Noyes became a director of the company in 1899, and he took great interest and pleasure in its constantly increasing prosperity.

In 1896 Mr. Noyes became vice president and a director of the Capital Bank of St. Paul, taking the place of his friend, Mr. Kenneth Clark, who, upon his election as president of the Merchants National Bank, had severed his connection with the Capital Bank. Mr. William D. Kirk, the president, was an intimate friend of Mr. Noyes. Upon his death in 1906 the bank was sold to outside interests and Mr. Noyes severed his connection with it. In the same year he was elected a director of the Merchants National Bank, of which his brother had long been a director and with which Noyes Brothers and Cutler had always banked.

Another local enterprise in which Mr. Noyes became very much interested was the H. L. Collins Company, which printed labels and advertising materials. He first acquired stock in this company in 1902 and was elected vice president and a director in 1904. The business grew so rapidly that it was considered desirable to secure control of the raw materials, so in 1907 the Waldorf Box Board Company was organized, with Mr. Noyes as one of the incorporators and vice president. After some initial setbacks this company became prosperous, and in 1916 the two companies were consolidated as the Waldorf Paper Products Company. Shortly thereafter Mr. Noyes resigned as vice president, but he continued to the end of his life as a director. During Mr. Noyes's connection with this enterprise it had a wonderful development, its capital increasing more than twenty-fold.

In all of these outside ventures Mr. Noyes took as keen and active an interest as was possible with the limited time at his disposal, for all through life by far the greater part of his time was devoted to the drug business. But his associates always found that his business judgment, based on a long and

varied business career, was of great value, and that he was always loyal to his associates in any new venture; if things looked dark for a time, he did not desert, and if more funds were called for, he was not one to refuse. These sterling qualities attracted business men and brought to him valuable opportunities to join in new business ventures. Mr. Noyes also invested in St. Paul real estate and, in later years, in stocks and bonds generally, with very profitable results.

A business activity that was really in the nature of a public service sprang from Mr. Noyes's connection with the State Savings Bank of St. Paul, the only institution in the city organized under the state laws as a mutual association for the sole benefit of depositors. He became a trustee in 1894, and in 1904 he was elected president, a position which he retained until his death. In 1906 the present handsome bank building was erected on East Fourth Street. During the period of Mr. Noyes's presidency the bank's deposits increased from two million to over seven million dollars and the number of depositors from less than ten thousand to over twenty-five thousand. Mr. Noyes was also for years a trustee of the Oakland Cemetery Association and after 1918 its president. He was much interested in the development and beautification of its cemetery.

During this quarter of a century of active business life, Mr. Noyes still found time for many other activities. His coin collecting continued to furnish an outlet to his antiquarian interests, and he became actively interested in genealogical research and in the various patriotic societies that were coming into prominence in the country at that time. He was active in forming the local chapter of the Sons of the Revolution in St. Paul, was its president in 1893, and was long a member of its board of managers. He was also active in the formation of the Minnesota Society of the Colonial Wars in 1895. He was its first registrar in 1896, deputy governor in 1898, and governor in 1899, and for many years a member of the council.

He took a deep interest in the meetings of these organizations, which endeavor to preserve the memory and emulate the patriotism of the colonial forefathers whom he so greatly revered. Mr. Noyes was a capable and pleasing presiding officer, and the wide range of his interests always made him a most entertaining companion at these business and social gatherings. In 1893 he also became a member of the Minnesota Historical Society and the following year he was elected a member of the council, a position he continued to hold until his death.

It was during these years that, with the assistance of Mrs. Noyes, he was laboriously accumulating and preparing material relating to his and Mr. Noyes's ancestors — material which was eventually published as has already been related. He found in this work great pleasure and relaxation from his business cares. While the book is in a rather unusual form among genealogical works, since it gives the ancestors of two individuals instead of tracing the descendants of an early ancestor and thus on its face appeals to a limited number of people, still investigators in New England genealogy will find it valuable to them, for it contains interesting details regarding many prominent people who figure in other family trees.

In 1902, to celebrate his sixtieth year, Mr. and Mrs. Noyes made a trip around the world, going east to India and returning by way of China and Japan. Mr. Noyes made a winter trip to the West Indies in 1906, and in 1907 and again in 1910 he made trips to Europe. Except for a number of winter trips to California this completed his longer travels.

In 1911 he was one of the chief organizers of a St. Paul branch of the Archæological Institute of America. He was president of this for the remaining ten years of his life, and many of its meetings, at which representatives of the national organization gave illustrated lectures, were held at his home. Those who were privileged to attend these gatherings remember with keen enjoyment the popular presentations of new dis-

coveries and especially Mr. Noyes's gracious hospitality, his intelligent interest in archeological subjects, and his great desire to build up an enduring local organization.

In 1915 Mr. Noyes began his three-year term as president of the Minnesota Historical Society. This period was one of the most important in the history of the society, for it was during these years that its present home was constructed. Authorization by the legislature and approval by the board of control were necessary for the project. At first an unfortunate site at the rear of the capitol was selected by the authorities, but after a long struggle the society secured the present appropriate site, which adds to the effectiveness and usefulness of the handsome building which was erected. The completed project redounded much to the credit of the officers of the society. Mr. Noyes's wise advice, untiring interest, and influence were not the least important factors in the successful conclusion.

Mr. Noyes took an ever increasing interest in the House of Hope Presbyterian Church. He had been treasurer for a number of years, and in 1906 he was elected president of the board of trustees. With the growth of the city and the westward expansion of its residence district, the down-town site of the church was felt to be more and more inconvenient. After long consideration a new site was acquired on Summit Avenue in the center of the newer residence district, and in 1913 Mr. Noyes was made chairman of the building committee charged with the erection of the new edifice. It was partly through his efforts that Mr. Ralph A. Cram, the most noted exponent of Gothic architecture in the country, was employed to design the new church. During the period of construction, the building committee had many problems to consider, and Mr. Noyes found pleasure in this work. More than all did he enjoy the completed result, for the church as it stands is one of the best examples of Mr. Cram's work and an architectural monument of the city. It furnishes a large and growing congregation with a worthy church home. Mr. Noyes was a liberal contrib-

utor of money as well as of time to its erection and equipment, — he gave the organ for the new edifice, — and by his will he contributed to the endowment fund for its maintenance.

With the outbreak of the European war Mr. Noyes assumed increased business responsibilities for the drug company. He entered with zest into the hunt for new sources of supply elsewhere when the European markets were largely closed, and by his enterprise in this line he helped to make large profits for his house. When this country entered the war he had his share of the worries of the time. His youngest son entered the naval service and later his oldest son, who was associated with him in the business, left to enter the chemical warfare service, thus leaving more work to be done and all the difficult labor problems to be solved by those who remained in the business. The early armistice shortened this period of strain, and with the peace reaction the business entered upon a new period of prosperity.

In the summer of 1920, just after the fiftieth anniversary of the establishment of the firm had been fittingly celebrated and while the house was enjoying the greatest success and expansion it had ever known, the joint ownership and management of the business by members of the three families came to an end and Mr. Noyes retired. His son, Mr. C. Reinold Noyes, had with a number of outside investors formed a syndicate to buy out all the other interests in the business and to take over its entire management. Notwithstanding Mr. Noyes's natural parental pride in seeing his son left in full control of the organization, it was not without reluctance that, even at the age of seventy-eight, he gave up the active business life in which he had always found so much enjoyment. He soon accustomed himself to this change, however, and during the last year of his life he retained his desk at the store and spent much time in arranging his private affairs. He passed a pleasant winter and appreciated his freedom from responsibility during a period of business difficulties.

Mr. Noyes entered upon his eightieth year apparently well and strong, little realizing that he had but one more week of life. A few days later, the last time he was at his desk, he announced to one of the older men at the store that he had just had a birthday and remarked that he had just 362 good sound days ahead of him before he would be eighty years old. The man congratulated him on the prospect and wished that the next twenty-five years of his life would be as happy and fortunate as the last twenty-five years during which they had been associated. Mr. Noyes stopped a moment, as if reckoning up, and then said with a twinkle in his eye, "That is fine, but why limit me, why limit me?"

On the very next day he suffered from an acute attack of appendicitis. He was operated upon at once, but at his age the chance of recovery was small. He failed to rally and passed away early in the morning of April 30, 1921. The funeral services were conducted by his pastor, the Reverend Henry C. Swearingen, at the church he loved, and the burial was in the family lot at Oakland Cemetery.

Mr. Noyes's career was a happy one. He enjoyed good health and all his faculties during a long life, experienced few personal sorrows, and was spared a lingering illness at the end. He started life with very limited worldly advantages and had to give up a college education; but with application, thrift, a keen business mind, and observation of the highest standards of business honor, he built up step by step during a long life a comfortable fortune. He married happily, and saw four children grow up, the three boys securing the education at Yale that had been denied to him. He saw the three oldest children married and independently established in comfortable homes of their own. He found increasing pleasure in his later years in his grandchildren and the widening family circle. In a time of change he never faltered in his devotion to the faith of his fathers.

Mr. Noyes took a helpful and important part in the varied life of his city, except in the one field of politics. He never ran for office, nor was he ever actively engaged in political work. Probably the thought to do so never occurred to him, since, like the rest of us, he realized that the industrial conflict has rendered it almost impossible for a successful business man to use his great abilities in the public service. In this his career differs from that of many of his ancestors who not only had the ability but actually did render the body politic efficient and loyal service.

The record of his life shows him a worthy descendant of these men and women who lived such useful lives and whose careers he delighted to study and preserve from oblivion. Assuredly Mr. Noyes enjoyed that "purest and most enduring of human pleasures . . . the possession of a good name among one's neighbors and acquaintances. . . . Such reputation regards not mental power, or manual skill, but character; it is slowly built upon purity, integrity, courage and sincerity. To possess it is a crowning satisfaction."

WILLIAM W. CUTLER

ST. PAUL, MINNESOTA

CHARLES WILBERFORCE AMES

St. Paul lost one of its foremost citizens in the death of Charles W. Ames, who passed away at his home on April 3, 1921. He was a man of rare qualities, combining idealism with practical judgment in a degree possessed by few. He was of large vision, seeing the need of improvement in social and political conditions and striving with unsurpassed energy to bring about beneficial changes. In his public work he was zealous and untiring and wholly devoted to the task of benefiting his fellow men. As a citizen he stood in the foremost rank, and as a man he had no peers.

His ancestry endowed him with strong traits. He was born in Minneapolis, on June 30, 1855, the son of Charles Gordon Ames and Sarah Daniels Ames. He was educated in his early years at the Albany Academy, a school for boys at Albany, New York. When his family removed to California, he entered the public schools there, and later he was graduated from the Minneapolis high school and from Cornell University, receiving his degree of Bachelor of Literature in 1878. Between 1869 and 1871 he worked as a printer's apprentice for the *San José Mercury*. After his return to Minnesota he joined the railroad surveying party obtaining data for the St. Paul and Duluth Railroad, and he subsequently engaged in similar work on the Pennsylvania Railroad. In the intervals of his college work at Cornell he was engaged in geological work with the Pennsylvania Geological Survey. After his graduation he assisted his father for two years in the editing and publishing of the *Christian Register* in Boston.

His taste and experience being largely along the line of newspaper and publishing work, it was natural that he should incline toward that vocation, and in 1880 he became associated with the George H. Ellis Publishing Company of Boston. In 1882 he removed to St. Paul and purchased an interest in the

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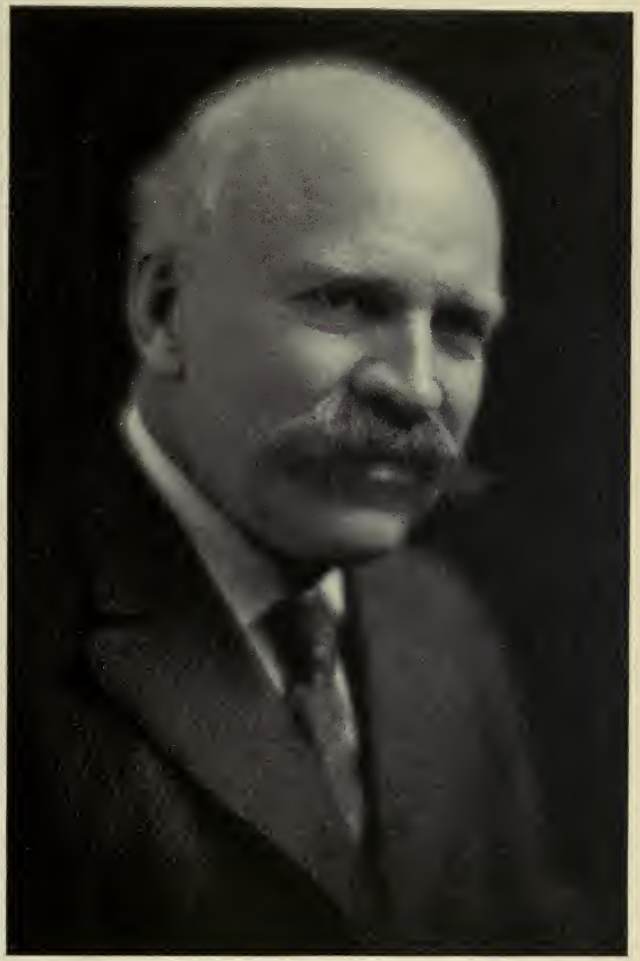


Charles W. Ames

West Publishing Company. He served at first as secretary, then as general manager, and for a long period of years as president of the company. As a business man, Mr. Ames was of rare capacity. He united a keen sense of fair dealing with unusual energy and good judgment. Under his excellent business guidance the company became very prosperous, and for many years it has been the largest law publishing plant in the world. No small share of its success is due to his energy and foresight. He was also a director of the Northwestern Trust Company and of the First National Bank of St. Paul, and of the American Law Book Company of New York; and he was actively interested in many lesser companies to which he gave much time and attention.

But while interested in business, Mr. Ames did not allow it to absorb his whole attention. Early in his life in St. Paul he began to take a large part in public affairs. No worthy enterprise was too onerous to engage his active mental and physical coöperation, and it was his fortune to see many small institutions and ventures of a public nature blossom into large and healthy maturity. Education was with him a never-failing source of enthusiasm. He organized the Loomis School for girls; he was active in the inauguration of the St. Paul Academy for boys; and, later, he was the prime mover in the establishment of this academy's country day school at Randolph and Snelling avenues. In the work of the public library he was particularly interested. During his long membership on the board of directors he brought about many wise innovations and developed the usefulness of the library by promoting the establishment of branches in a dozen parts of the city, which enabled the institution to serve a much larger constituency. When the agitation for the new library building was started, he took up the work with energy, and he was largely responsible for the splendid building which now is one of the architectural features of the city.

In the religious field Mr. Ames's activities were very productive. His father was a Unitarian clergyman, and the son,

in no less degree, applied his energy and zeal to the work of this creed. During the pastorate of the Reverend Samuel Crothers at the old Unity Church on Wabasha Street, Mr. Ames took an active part in church work, developing the Sunday school and occasionally occupying the pulpit in the absence of the pastor. The influence of his deep religious feeling was always shown in his keen interest in and healthy sympathy for others. No man had a larger or more healthful influence upon his friends and acquaintances, largely because of his broad charity and his keen sense of responsibility for his spiritual as well as his physical welfare. His religious nature was not obtrusive but showed itself rather in a kindly and friendly interest in his fellow men.

Mr. Ames was largely responsible for the founding, in 1908, of the St. Paul Institute, to which he devoted much of his time and money and which he brought to a successful and flourishing condition. He was impressed by the fact that, after the termination of the instruction received in the grade schools, the man of mature years had no opportunity to pursue his studies further. The idea that night schools should be established led to the conception of the institute, the scope of which later was broadened to meet the requirements, in art, natural history, and other cultural matters, of all classes of people. The work of Mr. Ames in inaugurating and rendering possible the completion of this great public institution is among the most valuable of his accomplishments as a citizen. Through this conception the desire of the public for education, not only in practical but also in cultural fields, is gratified. The institute has made St. Paul a better place to live in, for it has improved the opportunity for good citizenship and for the enjoyment of the cultural things which really are essential to normal life and development. Mr. Ames was much interested in art. He fostered exhibitions of the paintings of local and western artists, and he contributed not a few paintings to the institute gallery. His contributions to the institute's natural history museum were frequent and valuable. Through his

efforts the institute has become one of the city's greatest educational and cultural factors.

Another of his interesting achievements is the Informal Club, of which he was secretary for twenty-seven years. With a few others he organized this club, composed of sixty of the leading business and professional men of the city, for the purpose of discussing topics of general interest. The club was held together by the slenderest official ties, and it was almost wholly the genial personality of Mr. Ames, together with his bright wit and original point of view, which infused vitality and interest into the group. Those who were fortunate enough to be members have the most pleasant recollections of the temperate and scholarly atmosphere he lent to all discussions and the keen logic with which he analyzed the debates.

In philanthropy Mr. Ames assumed more than his full duty as a citizen. Aside from his large contributions to the St. Paul Institute, he was ever ready with his purse when charity called. He was in close touch with all the philanthropic organizations of St. Paul, and for several years he was a director of the Amherst H. Wilder Charity. His last public service of this nature was in connection with the organization of the Community Chest, of which he was an ardent promoter and supporter.

He was interested in all activities which concern the average citizen, and he constantly endeavored to improve the facilities for business and social intercourse. It was largely due to his efforts that the former Chamber of Commerce and the Commercial Club were merged into the St. Paul Association of Public and Business Affairs, and that the St. Paul Athletic Club was united with the latter in the present commodious quarters. It was no easy task to bring together the three rather discordant elements of these organizations in one enterprise, housed in a single building, and united in the general effort to improve the social and business relations of our merchants.

Perhaps in no part of his life did the splendid nature of Mr. Ames manifest itself more fully than in his patriotic serv-

ice during the World War. Early in the war he perfected an organization for the French war sufferers; he made a visit to France in 1916 to confer with those who were administering relief to the suffering; and he contributed an ambulance to the cause. He converted his home into a workshop in which his family and friends labored unceasingly in providing bandages, clothing, and other necessities to bring relief to the destitute of the warring countries. His contribution of material as well as of money to this work was very large. He later organized a local committee of the Fatherless Children of France, which provided for the care of hundreds of orphans. Not the least of his war services was rendered as a member of the Minnesota Commission of Public Safety. His energy and zeal contributed a great deal to the efficient work of that body. In recognition of the large share he took in relieving the French war sufferers, he was awarded by the French government the title of Chevalier de la Légion d'Honneur, which was conferred upon him at a large public gathering by M. Marcel Knecht in 1919.

Mr. Ames was married in 1883 to Miss Mary Lesley, daughter of Professor J. P. Lesley of Philadelphia. He is survived by his widow, his sons, Charles Lesley and Theodore, and four daughters, Mrs. Cushing Wright, Mrs. S. Eppes Turner, and Miss Elizabeth Ames of St. Paul, and Mrs. Bronson Crothers of Boston.

The very plethora of his activities and the variety of forms in which his genius showed itself make it difficult to give an estimate of the character and achievements of Charles W. Ames. There was scarcely any human activity during his life in which he did not take a part. He was unstinted in using his energy in behalf of every worthy cause, and he threw himself, without scrutinizing the cost, into every movement for the betterment of his fellow men. He was a man of tremendous force, and always worked his physical and mental powers at the highest pitch. Added to the zeal of his convictions was

the devotion of the man who submerged self that the great ideals he cherished might be attained. He was a practical idealist, holding high standards of human welfare, but never losing sight of the realities. He was a dreamer of large dreams, and fortunately most of his dreams came true. The wellspring of his activities was mainly his love for his fellow men. His life is one long story of things accomplished that tended to make life more agreeable, to make work more fruitful, and to create always a higher type of citizenship. His belief in the need of cultural things to smooth off the sharp and ugly corners of the daily life of the people led him to the interests in music, art, and education which have blossomed into fruition.

His personal character was very lovable. He was genial and kindly, always taking an optimistic view of life and seeking out and finding the best in his fellow men. He possessed a most sympathetic nature, a clear and logical mind, and a wit that was unexcelled. His extensive knowledge of current events enabled him to see with clear vision things that to others seemed confused and involved. He was a charming conversationalist and public speaker, a widely-read man in all good literature, a lover of art and music, and a devotee of the cultural things of life. He was a man of large influence, and his fellow citizens had unbounded faith in his wisdom and good intentions.

No higher praise can be given to a man than to say that in him was personified a good citizen. This means that, devoid of self interest, he constantly promoted the welfare of his neighbor and the community in which he lived. Looking back on his many accomplishments for the good of the city of St. Paul, we may say with truth that no man strove more greatly, accomplished more good, nor left a higher example of citizenship than Charles W. Ames.

ARTHUR SWEENEY

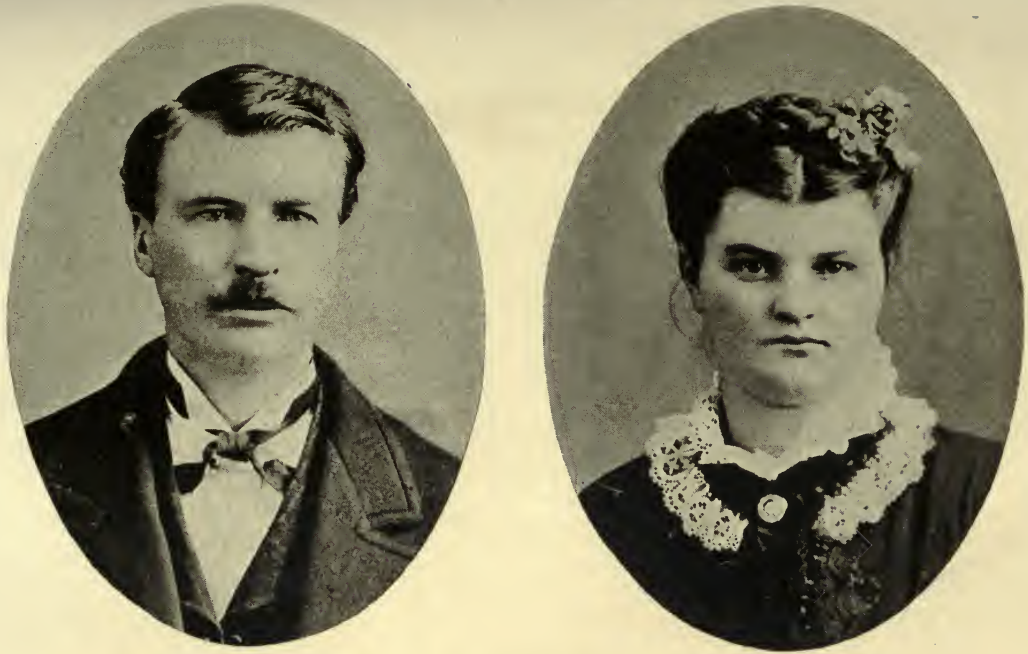
ST. PAUL, MINNESOTA

KNUTE STEENERSON'S RECOLLECTIONS
THE STORY OF A PIONEER[1]

I was born in Telemarken, Norway. My ancestors, as far back as can be traced, lived on an estate in Morgendal called Berge. The building on this estate was originally located on a height of land in the center of a valley. It had been the stronghold for Viking chiefs in the early days, and many of my ancestors are known to have held positions of trust.

I immigrated with my parents to America in the year 1850, at the age of six years. It took about fourteen weeks to cross the Atlantic in a small sailing vessel in those days. However, one foggy morning the city of New York was reached. It was then a small city without skyscrapers or railroads. The journey from New York was made in canal boats drawn by horses through the Erie Canal. I can remember how we would have to run and get down under the deck when we went under the bridges. We arrived at Buffalo and from there went by boat to Milwaukee. There we met an old acquaintance of my father who came in from the country with a load of hay to sell. Next day father and mother and three children, of whom I was the oldest, together with our baggage, took our places on the hayrack wagon and were taken fifty miles up into the country. We drove all day and night and I shall never forget the singing of frogs and the barking of

[1] This document came into the possession of the Minnesota Historical Society in the fall of 1920, through the courtesy of Mr. Hjalmar R. Holand, of Ephraim, Wisconsin. From internal evidence it appears to have been written about 1910. It is not reproduced *verbatim et literatim;* but, in order that the flavor of the original might be preserved, the editorial revision has been restricted to a minimum. The footnotes, with the exception of those signed by Mr. Holand, have been supplied by Miss Bertha L. Heilbron, research assistant on the staff of the Minnesota Historical Society. — *Ed.*



MR. AND MRS. KNUTE STEENERSON

[From photographs taken at the time of their marriage in 1876. The originals are in the possession of Mrs. Steenerson.]

the dogs that night. Milwaukee in those days was a small frontier town on the lake. The country which we passed was sparsely settled and swampy.

The family lived in the vicinity of Madison, Wisconsin, for two years.[2] But my father, one year after our arrival, left for the new Territory of Minnesota. The talk was that there would be much government land opened for settling in that new territory, and he wished to get a piece of land.

In the spring of 1852 we fitted out a yoke of steers, a covered wagon (prairie schooner), and one cow.[3] We were to join a caravan of fourteen wagons of movers who were bound for the promised land of the Territory of Minnesota, which was then a wild country inhabited by Indians. Many of the people in Wisconsin said that Minnesota was not a good place to move to for it was too far north and not good for farming and they insisted that Iowa was a much better place to go to. But the party was made up to go to Minnesota. My father had gone there the year before and mother was alone with three children born in the old country and one more a year old, a native American, who afterward became a prominent lawyer and congressman of Minnesota.

[2] During this period the family resided on a farm of forty acres in Dane County, Wisconsin, which was rented by the father, Steener Knutson. In Norway Mr. Knutson was educated to be a teacher, and while residing in Wisconsin, in addition to working his farm, he followed his profession for a time. Unfavorable economic conditions in his native land brought about his immigration to America, and similar circumstances, combined with his desire to be his own landlord, seem to have caused his removal to Minnesota. Return I. Holcombe and William H. Bingham, eds., *Compendium of History and Biography of Polk County, Minnesota,* 344 (Minneapolis, 1916).

[3] The removal to Minnesota took place in 1853, according to the account in Holcombe and Bingham, *Polk County,* 344. This date is confirmed by the fact that Congressman Halvor Steenerson, who, according to the present narrative, was one year old when his mother brought him to Minnesota, was born in Dane County, Wisconsin, on June 30, 1852. Warren Upham and Mrs. Rose B. Dunlap, *Minnesota Biographies, 1655–1912* (*Minnesota Historical Collections,* vol. 14—St. Paul, 1912); Albert N. Marquis, *Who's Who in America,* vol. 11 (Chicago, 1920).

My father had signed a note for some one in Madison, Wisconsin, as security. After we had started alone with our yoke of oxen, for we were to join the caravan of fourteen wagons a few miles out, and as we were proceeding in the road a few miles, suddenly the sheriff from Madison stopped us and said he had an execution, and he unhitched the oxen from the wagon in the road and drove them away to Madison to be sold to satisfy the debt. Some of the party in the caravan heard about it and they raised a purse among them to satisfy the debt and one of the party went to Madison after the oxen. There in the road, mother with her four children camped in the wagon all night, and I never shall forget the cry of the whippoorwill. I was the oldest one of the children, and I cannot remember a happier moment in my life than that morning at daybreak when one of the party arrived with the oxen and hitched them onto the wagon. In less than one hour we had joined the great caravan and proceeded westward.

The caravan moved along and days and weeks passed. One night we camped near a big Indian camp and the Indian children came out and played with the white children. Every night a good place for grass for the oxen and cows was looked up. As a rule, the country we passed through was well wooded and, consequently, there was no lack of firewood for cooking meals in camp. Finally we arrived at the Mississippi River at the place where the city of La Crosse now stands. It was then barren sand prairie with a few shanties and a steamboat landing.[4] There we met our father who had gone a year before. He had had bad luck as he had fallen into the ice and

[4] La Crosse was growing rapidly in the early fifties. In 1851 there were but five families in the town; by 1854 this number had increased to three hundred. The rapidly growing pioneer community undoubtedly presented a rough and shabby appearance, and when Steenerson compared his earliest impression of the town with the La Crosse he knew in later years he probably recalled the picture here recorded. Spencer Carr, *A Brief Sketch of La Crosse, Wisc'n.*, 12, 28 (La Crosse, 1854).

cut one of his fingers off. He had also taken a contract and had been cheated out of the pay.

After a day or two of camping on the sand prairie near La Crosse, the caravan commenced to cross over the Mississippi River into Minnesota. It was a steam ferry and it took about two wagons each time and landed them in La Crescent on the Minnesota side of the Mississippi River.[5] From the ferry landing to the trading post of one store called La Crescent was about a mile or two, consisting of low bottom with grass so high that it reached over the oxen's backs and in places so soft that the wagon went in up to the hubs. From there the caravan went over some ridges and bluffs heavily wooded by oak timber. No road or house was in sight anywhere.

The second day we struck a branch of the Root River, a little valley called the Looney Valley, where the members of the party spread out and established themselves on claims of land.[6] As the country was new and near to low river bottoms much sickness prevailed — fever and ague. My father had just built a small log house about twelve feet square with a roof on one side only and unchinked and not plastered when both my father and mother were taken sick with ague. Sometimes they were shaking with cold so that their teeth would clatter. After that spell they would again be sweating so that

[5] Settlement at this point was started in 1851 by Peter Cameron, who erected the first house. This structure, in which the owner later conducted a general merchandise business, was probably the store mentioned by Steenerson. Edward D. Neill, *History of Houston County*, 422–425 (Minneapolis, 1882).

[6] The valley of Silver Creek, one of the several streams which join the Root River in the vicinity of Houston, was known as Looney Valley. The title was derived from the family name of the earliest permanent settlers, John S. Looney and his three sons, who took up claims in the valley in 1852. For a time it was believed that the principal town of the region would develop at this point; a townsite company was organized, and a "paper village" was surveyed and platted. A post office known as Looneyville was established here in 1855, but it was discontinued in 1858. Neill, *Houston County*, 399, 401, 403.

the perspiration would be streaming from their faces, and then they would get very thirsty. They would then call on me for water. I had a pint flask which I would fill at the little stream about ten rods from the house, and run back to the house and give it to my father. He used to empty it in a few swallows, and thus I kept them supplied with fresh drinking water. I had also to supply the house with firewood. I picked up old dry small branches and broke them up, which made very good firewood. Thus the summer went on and in the fall when the weather got a little cooler they got a little better. Then to get a little start my father sold his claim for sixty dollars and moved across the Root River near where the village of Sheldon now stands. There was a sparkling spring brook and a narrow valley between high bluffs. Here the family of boys and girls grew up and the old folks got to be quite prosperous.[7]

The country was wild and Indian camps could frequently be seen. Wild deer were plentiful, roaming the bluffs. One eve-

[7] The first settlement of Norwegians in Minnesota was made near the present village of Spring Grove in Houston County in 1852. This rapidly spread westward and northward, embracing the valleys where Steenerson's father and his companions settled, all the western half of Houston County, and the eastern half of Fillmore County. From 1852 to 1875 it was perhaps the chief American destination toward which thousands of emigrants from Norway turned their faces. From 1865 to 1875 it was a preëminent point of radiation from which hundreds of caravans of Norwegian pioneers set out to found new settlements in western Minnesota and the distant Dakotas. There are now in this settlement thirty-nine Norwegian Lutheran congregations, having a membership of 11,664. The total population of Norwegian descent is at least 15,000. An historical sketch of the settlement appears in the writer's *De norske settlementers historie,* 358–378 (Ephriam, Wisconsin, 1909).—*Hjalmer R. Holand*

Steener Knutson, the father, evidently attained a position of some prominence in the pioneer settlement, for he was chairman of the first town meeting in 1858. He also was a member of the original board of trustees of the "Houston Society of the Norwegian Evangelical Lutheran Church," an organization of about sixty families. In this community he continued to reside until 1875, when he again turned pioneer, this time finding a home on Minnesota's northwestern frontier in Polk County. Neill, *Houston County,* 453, 455, 456; Holcombe and Bingham, *Polk County,* 344.

ning in midsummer a large number of Indians came past our house, as their trail lay close by. They were very much intoxicated. Mother heard them coming about a mile off and took the ax into the house and locked the door safely. They made quite a racket outside of the house and we thought every moment they would break in, but they passed on.

I had a nice yoke of steers which I broke and they were so well trained that when I hollered "Whoa" they would stop almost within an inch of where I wanted them to stop. Being quite an ox driver, I and another young fellow rigged up a breaking team with six yoke of oxen. We had a big grub breaker which cut twenty-four inches and we could turn over brush land which was covered with brush and small trees. We used to take contracts by the acre and did fairly well.

Later I disposed of my oxen and invested in horses and a threshing machine. It was a four-team horse power machine. We did quite a lot of threshing. Everybody in the neighborhood thought it was a big and fast thresher, as we could thresh over four hundred bushels of wheat per day, which was great in those days. The year before the neighbors had fooled with a machine which they sawed off in the middle and only used the cylinder. Then they would afterwards separate the wheat from the chaff in the wind. The year before that again they used to lay the bundles on the ground in a ring and then drive the oxen over them to tramp the wheat out. The cleaning was done in the wind by holding a pailful and letting it drizzle out a little at a time, so that the wind would blow the chaff away from the wheat. This was about 1855 to 1860.

Houston County in this part is cut up with narrow valleys and those valleys were settled mostly by Norwegians. A few years later the bluffs and ridges were settled by Irish emigrants.[8] I went up to the Irish ridges to look for threshing

[8] Neill, in his *Houston County*, 454, records that the "settlement of the 'Ridge' in the eastern part of the town [*Sheldon*] was initiated by Jerry Cunningham, a native of the 'Emerald Isle,' who landed in New York in

jobs. I stopped at Mr. Cratty's for dinner. I was invited to the table and sat down. The menu was plain salt and potatoes and water. That was the first and only time that I feasted on salt and potatoes for dinner. Well, I engaged to thresh Mr. Cratty's job. Mr. Mulligan, Mr. Russell, Mr. Murphy, and others of the Irish settlement were to help him. Mr. Cratty would work hard on his own job but when he came to help his neighbor he would shirk and do as little work as possible. It made it almost impossible to thresh in the Irish settlement. The next day we moved the machine to Muldoon's farm. Mr. Cratty was then placed in the straw stack, but he did not keep the straw away so it clogged the machine. This made it very difficult to get any work done, for the farmer would work hard for himself but would shirk when he should help his neighbor.

The next year I turned my attention to contracting for building bridges. I built many and made some money. They were small bridges for the road district across small streams. They were built with four stringers and poles across, some straw on top of the poles, and then scraped dirt on top. This was quite a money-making business and I believe I would have made a successful contractor if I had followed it up.

The next fall I went to the Black River Falls pinery. A bunch of us young fellows walked all the way from La Crosse to Neillsville.[9] It was a long, tedious walk in stormy weather. The camp was a house about three feet high on each side and had a very peaked roof. The entrance or door was in the gable end. There was a big fire in the middle of the house with a big opening in the center of the room for the smoke to go out. There were sleeping bunks made on the ground with the feet turned to the big fire. There were about fifty men

1851." A few other Irishmen followed him, and the district became known as a center for Irish settlement.

[9] This town is in Clark County, Wisconsin, about seventy miles northeast of La Crosse.

in the camp of all nationalities. When the big logs in the fire were roaring and burning, it made good light in the shanty. There was a bench at the side of the fire, about a foot and a half high, which we sat on. When we wanted to go to bed all we had to do was to tip backwards into the bunk on the ground. There was also a big cook shanty.

Mike O'Leary and Pat Connelly had their places just opposite mine. They used to bother the life almost out of a German by the name of Garbush, who was a simpleton. Sometimes they told him to open his mouth and looked down his throat, and they used to say that they could see sauerkraut in his throat. They abused him so much and were so mean to him that he had to quit the job. My work consisted of following up the chopper and sawing the trees into logs.

The next fall I entered into partnership with another young fellow to start a saloon in Houston, Minnesota. We bought a small building and lot, and stocked up with liquor. There was some parleying between us as to what should be the name of the firm. We had read in the papers that when O'Bryan first came over he had an O to his name so big that you could roll a barrel through it, but after a few years in this country it grew smaller, and a few years later he dropped it altogether. So we thought it was a good idea to drop the " son " from our names. Consequently, the firm name was styled Steener and Hawkins. There were many good customers. I mostly took charge of the business end of the firm. Mr. Hawkins played the violin and was an expert at card playing, and the business went along nicely. In those days whiskey was cheap and it was not seldom that a farmer bought a whole barrel at harvest time and set it up on the outside wall of his house and let those who wanted to drink help themselves.

In our saloon we had a bedroom partitioned off. We had a customer by the name of Michael, who used to spree for a week or two at a time when he got started. As it was Christ-

mas and both of us wanted to go away to some dances in the country, we concluded to lock Michael up in the bedroom until we got back. We happened to stay away longer than we expected to and after a few hours Michael woke up in the bedroom. He was thirsty and hungry and there he was a prisoner. He told us later that he had made up his mind to die there of hunger and thirst. When we came home and unlocked the room, he was so glad and happy that tears came from his eyes. He petted us and said, " God bless you byes. I thought I was going to die here."

There were some " smart Alecks " in town by the names of Ramsdell, Flinn, McCarthy, Flaerty, Flannigan, and Muldoon. One day someone heard them talking between themselves. They asked one and the other if they had seen " them two Narrwiggins " who had started that saloon. One fellow, who had not been in this country very long, inquired what kind of people " them Narrwiggins " were and if they would eat hay. Muldoon answered that they would eat straw, too. " Well, " said Flannigan, " let us go over to their saloon some evening and have a good time, get free drinks, and clean out the saloon. " " Yes, " said McCarthy, " those Narrwiggins are cowards and one of us can drive off a barnyard full of them. " " Well, " said one of them, " we will go over to their saloon next Saturday evening and take what whiskey we want to drink and chase them out. "

We had been informed of their talk by a friend of ours and we got ready for them; the lamp was lit and Mr. Hawkins took his place behind the bar ready to wait on customers that might come. I took my place at the end of the bar with a stove poker hid in front of me under the bar and with one hand on it ready for the emergency. The stove poker was made from a twisted lightning rod about two and one-half feet long with three-cornered sharp edges. Pretty soon, the party of six came in through the door and went up to the bar

and demanded the drinks for the crowd. Mr. Hawkins set out the glasses and bottles and the drinking began. Several drinks had been served but no pay offered. Then they commenced to smash some of the glasses and spill the whiskey. They shoved each other over the stove and, after a little, the stove began to tip over. Then I took a firm grip on the stove poker, which I had had my hand on all the time. I then moved forward quick as a flash and plied my stove poker to the right and left over them, cutting gashes in their heads and shoulders. They fell right and left, and as soon as they came to their feet again they made for the door and I after them with the poker in my hand. One fellow, when he was outside of the door, took hold of an empty beer keg and raised it and was going to knock in the front window. I then gave him a powerful blow over the arm and he fell on his knees. He got up again double quick and ran for dear life. That ended the raid that night. The next morning I took my stove poker and laid it on the end of a log and straightened it out with a hammer and it was as good as ever.

The next Monday morning we were arrested and taken before Justice of the Peace McGinty. After some hard pleading I got permission to go and get an attorney. I went by train to La Crosse, a distance of twenty miles, to hunt up a lawyer. I was careful not to employ anyone with an " O " or a " Mac " to his name, and I succeeded in getting a good one. We had a hearing next day, took a change of venue to the next nearest justice, and got cleared.

There was an outbreak of the Indians in western Minnesota. They murdered men, women, and children around New Ulm and Fort Ridgely. A big scare came as far east as Houston County. We, as the rest of the neighbors, loaded up and started, and left the growing crops and cattle on the farm. We drove as far as La Crescent on the Mississippi River. The road was lined with teams and wagons loaded with women

and children, and there were thousands in camp at La Crescent. They tried to cross the Mississippi, but were not allowed to cross over to the Wisconsin side, for it was claimed that the Indians had already been put down by the soldiers. After a few days they all returned to their farms.

In the spring of 1869 I started for the West to take up a land claim. Another young fellow and I had a prairie schooner each, and we wended our way through southern Minnesota until we reached Lac qui Parle County.[10] I took a claim just below where the Lac qui Parle River enters into the Minnesota River.[11] There was an Indian corn plantation on the bottom where I intended to take out papers on the land. It was in a large bend of the Minnesota River and was covered with big timber — large elms that would cut many cords of wood each. This was in July, 1869. There was a French squaw man living near by, and he could talk with the Indians. I made a bargain with him to help me get the land and paid him some money. There were no Indians who wanted the land, but they had been in the habit of putting in small patches of corn on it. I think there were as many as twenty small patches of corn in size about a half acre each on the land. As I stood on the big hill to the south of it and looked at all those corn patches with the large timber as a background, it was quite a

10 This county was not established until March 6, 1871. In 1869 it was a part of Chippewa County.

11 The Norwegian settlement in the upper Minnesota Valley, of which Steenerson was one of the founders, became very large. From Delhi to Louisburg it stretches for fifty miles along both sides of the Minnesota River, covering large parts of Chippewa, Lac qui Parle, Renville, Swift, and Redwood counties. Taking Montevideo for a center, there are, no doubt, more Norwegian farmers living within a radius of twenty miles than within an equal distance of any other town in America. This settlement is the subject of seven articles by the writer in the *Decorah-Posten* (Decorah, Iowa) for April 2, 9, 16, 23, 30, and May 7 and 14, 1920; they form part of a series entitled, "Norske pionerer og settlementer." — *Hjalmar R. Holand*

sight to see. Each piece of corn was hoed and kept clean by the squaw while the buck was inside his tent, smoking his pipe. For each piece of corn there was a tepee.[12]

Western Minnesota from Redwood Falls westward was entirely uninhabited. There was not a house to be seen. I drove with a yoke of oxen and a lumber wagon to Greenleaf where the land office was located and I took out papers on the land which the Indians were cultivating, as no one of them claimed title to it. The distance to Greenleaf was seventy miles.[13]

I built a shanty on the land and was on good terms with the Indians. But in the fall a half-breed with a big family — his name was Joe La Blan — started to build a shanty in my timber.[14] I told him it was my land and that I had papers for it, and I told him he had better move his shanty to the next claim to the west. He objected. Then I took my oxen down to his shanty and hitched a chain to the corner of his shanty

12 The Sioux Indians were removed from Minnesota after the outbreak of 1862, but William W. Folwell, in his *Minnesota, The North Star State,* 233 (*American Commonwealths* — Boston, 1908), states that "a small remnant of some twenty-five families of friendlies, many of them Christians, were suffered to remain in Minnesota, because they could not safely live among the heathen people." The fact that Napeshneeduta (see *post,* n. 15) was one of the Lac qui Parle group indicates that the presence of these Indians in the state in 1869 can be explained in this way.

13 One of the seven United States land offices in Minnesota in 1869 was located in this little village in Meeker County. In the following year the land office for this district was moved to Litchfield. United States General Land Office, *Reports,* 1869, p. 236; 1870, p. 290.

14 The census of the town of Lac qui Parle, Chippewa County, taken in June, 1870, includes the names of Joe La Blane, a trapper forty years old, his wife, Hapanami, and their three children, two sons and a daughter, respectively seventeen, sixteen, and fourteen years of age. The description corresponds with Steenerson's fairly well in all respects except one: according to the census La Blane and his wife were white. Judging from the wife's name, however, she might well have been a squaw. State archives, secretary of state's office, census schedules, 1870. These schedules are now in the custody of the Minnesota Historical Society.

and started the oxen up. They pulled the shanty down. Joe La Blan came out of his tepee near by with a loaded double-barreled shotgun, and threatened to shoot me. I told him, if he shot me there would come many white people to kill him. He stood there with the gun in his hand, and his daughter stood by his side begging him not to shoot. She was a girl of about eighteen years and nearly white. I told him that if he would take the claim to the west of me, I would haul his shanty up to that claim. He stood a while thinking and, after a moment, he said, " All right, I will do so. " So I loaded up the logs of his shanty and put them onto my wagon. The logs were only large poles from three to four inches at the top. Joe La Blan was a French half-breed about fifty years old. He had large grey whiskers and might have been taken for a Hebrew.

The breeds and Indians used to roam up and down the Minnesota River Valley for several hundred miles, and when cold weather overtook them they would put up a camp in some thick timber. Joe had no intention of interfering with my right to the claim. When I got him to take a claim, I advised him well, for the next spring some parties came up from Iowa and paid him three hundred dollars and a shotgun for his right.

The next summer I lived on my claim in a small log shanty. All the Indian families, numbering perhaps fifty to sixty, lived in tepees on Joe La Blan's land. He was my neighbor. One night, I remember, I woke up in the night. I heard some noise outside. I was alone. I got up and peeped out of the door and there I saw all the Indians gathered around my shanty. It was dark. I thought my end had come and that they had come to murder me. I asked one who could speak English what was the matter. He answered and said that they had heard some noise across the Lac qui Parle River, and that they thought it was the Chippewa Indians on the war

path after them. My neighbors were Dakota or Sioux. They stood and moved around for a while until daylight, and no Chippewa Indians could be seen. So they went back to their tepees, which were only about eighty rods from my shanty. They had been mistaken, I think.

Along in the latter part of the summer the old chief Napashniduta died. He was a good Indian, something over ninety years old. I was at the funeral. He was placed in a rough box of boards, and I helped to load it onto my wagon and hauled him to the top of the hill, where a grave was dug, and the coffin was placed in the grave. His pipe, hatchet, and other things that belonged to him were thrown into the grave. Those standing around took it coolly and no tears were shed. Thus ended the career of Napashniduta.[15]

In the fall I was to pay for my preëmption claim and get a deed from the government on my holdings. It took nearly three hundred dollars and it was not an easy thing to raise so much money. I had been offered $160 for my nice young well-broken yoke of oxen, but I wanted $175. The time drew near when I had to raise the money. My neighbor was going to drive a herd to Minneapolis, so I sent my oxen with him. He came back and gave me only $80. He said that was all he got. I felt sorry for those young red and white spotted oxen,

[15] Napeshneeduta was the first full-blooded Dakota man to join a Christian church. He was baptized at Lac qui Parle on February 21, 1840, when he took the name of Joseph Napeshnee. Some years later he removed to Little Crow's village below Fort Snelling. During the Sioux Outbreak of 1862 he was friendly to the whites and in the following spring he was engaged as a government scout. Finally he returned to Lac qui Parle, where he lived, respected for his piety and industry by whites and Indians alike, until his death in July, 1870. For nearly ten years he was a ruling elder of the Presbyterian Church. Frederick W. Hodge, *Handbook of American Indians*, part 2, p. 27 (Bureau of American Ethnology, *Bulletins*, no. 30 — Washington, 1910); Thomas S. Williamson, "Napehshneedoota: The First Male Dakota Convert to Christianity," in *Minnesota Historical Collections*, 3: 188–191 (St. Paul, 1880).

they were so gentle and well-broken. They had drawn me in a prairie schooner clear across the state. Well, I had raised some potatoes that I sold, and I managed to scratch up enough to pay the government, and I received papers on the land. It was a valuable piece of land, about one hundred acres of timber, which could be sold to prairie settlers for forty to fifty dollars per acre. I sold some for cash, but buyers did not come as readily as I expected. I proceeded to survey the land out into lots of from three to five acres. The prairie on both sides of the river was taken up by this time by settlers, and there was some demand for timber. I sold a few lots to the settlers. There happened to be a man in the village of Lac qui Parle, who had a little frame building in which he was running a saloon. One day he stumped me for a trade in timber lots. After some bargaining we made the deal. He was to get the deed of some timber lots and I was to get his building in town, with the stock of liquor in running order.

Well, the time passed along. I sold whiskey by the drink, pint, quart, and gallon. Along in the winter came a half-breed from St. Paul. He had driven up by team — there was no railroad at that time[16] — and he was going to Big Stone Lake, he said, to buy scrip from the Indians.[17] His name was Bill

[16] The village of Lac qui Parle is still without a railroad. The railroad entered the county at the extreme southeast corner in 1884. Lycurgus R. Moyer and Ole G. Dale, eds., *History of Chippewa and Lac qui Parle Counties, Minnesota,* 1: 477 (Indianapolis, 1916).

[17] Under the provisions of a law passed by Congress in 1854, scrip which entitled the holder to appropriate about 480 acres of land not already occupied or surveyed was issued to Sioux half-breeds. Land thus located was to replace each individual's share of the reservation which at an earlier time had been set aside for the half-breeds near Lake Pepin, and which now was thrown open for settlement. A provision in the law "that 'no transfer or conveyance of any of said certificates or scrip shall be valid' was easily circumvented, and they proved to be convenient vehicles for the transfer of valuable lands from government to private ownership, in advance of surveys." *United States Statutes at Large,* 10: 304; William W. Folwell, *A History of Minnesota,* 1: 324, 482–486 (St. Paul, 1921).

Quinn.[18] He had seventeen hundred dollars in cash in his pocket book. He came into my saloon often and treated the crowd, no matter how many there were or how few. He would throw a five-dollar bill on the counter and did not want any change. When I gave him change back, he would throw it on the dirty floor and tramp on it. So I learned after a while to please him and never gave him change, but slipped the bill into the money drawer and set up the drinks. This pleased him entirely.

One day he started to drive to Big Stone Lake. He drove along on the ice of Lac qui Parle Lake. Some miles out he came to a lot of fishermen, who were fishing through the ice. He had a good time there for awhile, drinking whiskey and talking. And there he lost his pocket book with the seventeen hundred dollars in it. But, luckily, one of the fishermen found it in the snow and gave it back to the owner.

So he proceeded on to Big Stone Lake and in about a week or ten days he was back again. He brought his son and his son's sweetheart with him. They were pretty good-looking half-breed Indians. He said he had caught them wild on an island in Big Stone Lake and wanted to "buckle them up" and marry them. So he bought ten gallons of whiskey and ten gallons of cherry brandy. I was invited to the wedding, which was held at the house of a French squaw man, who lived down the river a few miles. The next thing was to send for a justice of the peace to "buckle them up," as he said. A New England Yankee was sent for. His name was Mr. Stowell, and he performed the ceremony. But Mr. Quinn was in such a hurry that he sang out between drinks, "buckle them

[18] William L. Quinn was a well-known scout, trader, and Indian interpreter. Following the Sioux Outbreak he was employed as a government scout, and he served in this capacity until 1870. It is possible that he was sent to Big Stone Lake by parties in St. Paul who were interested in securing scrip. Accounts of Quinn's career appear in the *St. Paul Pioneer Press* for April 29, 1894, and for March 7, 1906.

up, buckle them up," and then again he would jig and laugh. Well, after it was done Quinn said he was so glad that they were "buckled up." We had a good time at the wedding. Some were drinking, some dancing, and others talking. It was a sort of cosmopolitan gathering. There were Dakota Indians talking with the lady of the house around the cook stove. There were the squaw man and old Bushma talking French. There were Fritz and Rosenbaum talking German. There were Ole Olson and John Johnson talking Norwegian. They were all enjoying a trot sling and a conversation between themselves, while Bill Quinn was dancing with a glass in his hand, to the music of the violin played by the half-breed, Joe Laframboise.[19] A more pleasant and jolly time I have never enjoyed.

In the spring I sold out my business — building, lot, and all — and secured some land on the prairie and proceeded to build and open a prairie farm. I was a single man and lived alone in a log house which I had erected. I had no stock that first winter and had plenty of time to read. I subscribed for a paper by the name of *Dagslyset* published by Markus Thrane in Chicago.[20] It was an eye-opener to me. It was a free-

[19] Joseph Laframboise is best known for his activities during the Sioux Massacre of 1862. Accompanied by an Indian, John Other Day, he informed the white people living at and about the Yellow Medicine Agency of their danger, and, subsequently, he was responsible for the rescue of numerous pioneer settlers in the upper Minnesota Valley. In 1863 he was a member of the Sibley expedition against the Sioux. *Sketches Historical and Descriptive of the Monuments and Tablets Erected by the Minnesota Valley Historical Society in Renville and Redwood Counties,* 68-71 (Morton, Minnesota, 1902).

[20] Markus Thrane was the leader of the labor and socialist movement which followed the revolution of 1848 in Norway. The movement was suppressed by the government and in 1854 the leaders were imprisoned, Thrane remaining in confinement for four years. Several years after his release he came to America, where he continued to disseminate his revolutionary ideas by means of a series of publications. In the New World, however, he focused his attacks upon the church rather than the state. All of his work as an author and publisher was done at Chicago. *Dagsly-*

thought paper and hit the nail on the head every time. I also sent for several books of the liberal kind, such as the writings of Darwin, Spencer, and Ingersoll. After long study I moved out of the orthodox faith and into the faith of Robert Ingersoll, and I must say that it seemed a great relief to get rid of the fear of hell and damnation. It took a long time to free myself of the superstitions which had been instilled into me, but I gradually did so, and I felt like a bird getting out of a cage or a slave set free. I felt better and slept better, for it is horrible to think that some people's souls are tortured in eternity without end. After I changed my faith the world seemed different to me; and today, after forty years without an orthodox faith, I feel assured of a peaceful sleep in all future eternity.

I next got into politics and ran for sheriff of Chippewa County and was elected.[21] The country was on the frontier and horse thieves and bank robbers were plentiful in those early days. At one time I with a posse of men chased two horse thieves. They had stolen four fine horses. We were in hot pursuit after them and caught them in the timber on the Minnesota River. They refused to surrender. We fired on them and after a long battle both of them were shot and died. Two of my men were wounded and I got a bullet through my left arm but none of us was wounded seriously.

set (The Light of Day), the free-thought monthly which so profoundly influenced Steenerson, Thrane founded in 1869, and it appeared intermittently until 1875. He also published from 1865 to 1866 *Den Norske Amerikaner* (The Norwegian-American), the predecessor of *Skandinaven* (The Scandinavian), and in the late seventies he edited *Den Nye Tid* (The New Age). His *Wisconsin-Biblen,* a satiric attack in Biblical form on the Norwegian-American clergy, passed through numerous editions. He died in 1890. An excellent sketch of Thrane and his work appears in an article by Johannes B. Wist, entitled "Pressen efter borgerkrigen," which is published in that author's *Norsk-Amerikanernes Festskrift 1914,* 91–93 (Decorah, Iowa, 1914).

21 Steenerson was elected in 1876 and he resigned on July 18, 1877. Moyer and Dale, *Chippewa and La qui Parle Counties,* 1 : 194.

In the year 1876 swarms of grasshoppers appeared in the country. They were flying in the air so thick sometimes that you could not see the sun on a clear day. The fences were lined with them. They devoured the grass and crops of all descriptions.[22] The machine companies had sold many implements to the settlers, but many of the settlers left their farms never to come back, for starvation stared them in the face. So I was ordered by the agents of the machine companies to gather up the seeders, mowers, reapers, etc., and haul them into Montevideo, the county seat. I had enough machinery to cover an acre or two for sale. I had a sale now and then, but there were no bidders except the agents themselves, who bid them in for the company. In a year or two the country straightened out again, crops were raised, and the people prospered again.

By this time I was looking around for a better half. I happened to have a summons to be served. On the trip, I happened to drop into a house on the prairie, where a beautiful girl was sitting on the sofa. I talked some with the old folks and took a glance at the girl now and then. The old man had just sold a farm in southern Minnesota and had arrived a few weeks before. He had taken a claim there several miles from any neighbors. The nearest railroad was seventy-five miles away. I went often afterwards to see the girl and she came to be my wife. We raised a big family of boys and girls.[23]

I next traded off my prairie farm for a general store with several thousand dollars worth of stock. I ran along and did

22 Rocky Mountain locusts first appeared in Minnesota in large numbers in 1873. Swarms of these insects continued each summer to devour the crops, especially in the southwestern counties of the state, until 1877, when, during the months of June and July, they disappeared. Folwell, *Minnesota*, 290, 304–307.

23 Before her marriage, which took place in 1876, Mrs. Steenerson was Miss Maria Anderson, the daughter of Sivert Anderson. The family had previously lived in Goodhue County.

a big business, but later closed out the store. I ran a large peddling wagon along the new line that was being built from Montevideo to Aberdeen.[24] One day I struck a camp west of where Milbank now stands. There I found my friend Wilson. He was peddling whiskey. It was Sunday and the crew was taking a rest and a spree. Wilson had two full whiskey barrels on his wagon. The boys had taken one wheel off the wagon and sunk it in the middle of the lake close by, and there Wilson was and could not get anywhere, and the railroad graders were having a big time with his stock of whiskey. The whiskey was passed around in dippers and cups. Mr. Wilson drank with them and seemed to enjoy it. South Dakota was then a trackless prairie without a farm or village in those parts.

In 1871 a party set out in prairie schooners for the Red River Valley. There were nine covered wagons. Some of the members of the party had families. We aimed to take up land on the Red River with timber on it. The first two or three days went along all right. When we came to Elbow Lake late one evening, we unhitched the oxen close by the lake.[25] Grazing was good. There had been a fence constructed and there were some chips lying by the road. We picked them together and made a little camp fire for cooking. As we were standing by the fire, along came a man that owned the fence.

[24] The Hastings and Dakota division of the Chicago, Milwaukee, and St. Paul Railroad reached Montevideo in 1878; it was extended to Ortonville in 1879; and it was completed to Aberdeen in July, 1881. Minnesota Railroad Commissioner, *Annual Reports*, 1878, p. 13; 1879, p. 9; George W. Kingsbury, *History of Dakota Territory*, 2: 1207 (Chicago, 1915).

[25] This lake is several miles northwest of the town of the same name in Grant County. The town was not established until 1874. One of the trails regularly used by traders who traveled between Pembina and St. Paul, via St. Cloud, passed Elbow Lake. Warren Upham, *Minnesota Geographic Names: Their Origin and Historic Significance*, 214, 217 (*Minnesota Historical Collections*, vol. 17 — St. Paul, 1920).

The man raised his hand up in the air with a big butcher knife in it, and was in the act of plunging it into me, but suddenly my companion, who was standing by me, hit him over the arm with the whipstock with the result that the knife fell out of his hand to the ground. The man then retreated and went to Fergus Falls, some thirty-five miles, and had all nine of us arrested the next day and taken into Fergus Falls. We were then fined seven dollars a piece, which was costs and all. Although we had done nothing, it was cheaper to pay than to monkey with a lawsuit. Fergus Falls was about a year old and without a railroad.[26] The man that gave us the trouble was a one-eyed man by the name of Brown.

Well, after the rumpus that we had had, we proceeded along down the Red River on the Minnesota side. There were no settlers except now and then a stopping place for the stage which was running along the Red River.[27] These were about thirty or forty miles apart. At Georgetown the stage road crossed the river over to the Dakota side, but we went right ahead down on the Minnesota side of the Red River without any road whatever. When we came to the Wild Rice River we felled some trees across the river and made a kind of a bridge, so as to get our teams and wagons across. We proceeded further down the river a few miles and then the cara-

[26] Fergus Falls was located and named in 1856, but the first permanent settlers did not arrive until ten years later. The platting of the town in 1870 was followed by a general influx of settlers. The first railroad reached Fergus Falls in 1879. John W. Mason, ed., *History of Otter Tail County, Minnesota,* 1: 281, 480–489 (Indianapolis, 1916).

[27] The stage began running over this route some twelve years before Steenerson's journey. In 1859 the Minnesota Stage Company was organized by J. C. Burbank, Russel Blakeley, and their associates, for the purpose of instituting stage service between St. Cloud and Fort Abercrombie. The line was extended in the following year to Georgetown, and in 1871 to Winnipeg. *History of the Red River Valley, Past and Present,* 1: 570 (Chicago, 1909); Russell Blakeley, "Opening of the Red River of the North to Commerce and Civilization," in *Minnesota Historical Collections,* 8: 50, 63, 64 (St. Paul, 1898).

van stopped, and we each located on a claim about a half a mile to a mile apart in the edge of the timber that skirted the river. Some of those parties are living on the same lands today. Some of them have passed away to the unknown land from which no one comes back to tell us anything.[28]

28 This group of settlers and another group which had arrived a week earlier combined to form the nucleus of the population of Polk County, for, although the county was established in 1858, no permanent settlers located there previous to June, 1871. All the settlers who arrived at this time were induced to seek homes in Polk County by Levi Steenerson, a brother of Knute. They located on lands south of the Sand Hill River, in what are now Hubbard and Vineland townships. The fiftieth anniversary of the establishment of this settlement was celebrated by the pioneers of the region on June 8, 1921. See *post*, p. 195.

Steenerson selected a homestead in Vineland township near the present village of Climax, but he soon abandoned it and returned to Chippewa County. His residence there was again interrupted in 1877 by a brief sojourn in Fargo, North Dakota, where he ran a hotel. After about two years he again went back to Chippewa County, but he was not satisfied to remain there for long. He was a wanderer by nature, constantly in search of new frontiers and new occupations. During the last forty years of his life Steenerson lived in several places in Minnesota, North Dakota, Wisconsin, and Oklahoma. A period of nearly twenty years was spent on a farm near Upham, North Dakota. His vocation varied with his residence, and he was occupied at different times as a newspaper publisher, a merchant, a real estate dealer, and a farmer. In the fall of 1920 his habitual restlessness led him to go to San Diego, California, for the winter, and there he died on February 12, 1921. The information for the foregoing sketch was furnished by Mr. Elias Steenerson of Crookston.

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

A History of Minnesota. By William Watts Folwell. Volume I. (St. Paul, Minnesota Historical Society, 1921. xxii, 533 p.)

In discussing this notable contribution to historical scholarship, it may border on the trivial to speak of manner before matter, but the first comment of readers of the volume, so far as this reviewer has chanced to talk with them, is always a reference to the charm of its "literary style." That inadequate phrase is well meant. The book has charm. It is a triumph of style; but the style is not particularly literary. It is — infinitely better — the easy self-expression of a delightful and cultured personality possessed of perfect mastery of his subject — *self*-expression not because the author was thinking about self or about expression, but because he wasn't. For all those readers acquainted with Dr. Folwell the book makes its appeal to consciousness less through the eye directly than through an inner ear. To those who have had that rich experience, each page of the five hundred carries vivid suggestions of a living and well-loved voice, with its familiar gracious inflections and modulations and happy turns of phrase, now of genial humor, now of sympathetic appreciation of human frailties, now of generous but never unbalanced enthusiasm for such nobility and heroism as mingle with our clay. Said one of the "old boys" the other day, — one with a "literary style" of his own, — "Through the whole book I just hear 'Billy' *talk.*"

I am unwilling to turn finally from the matter of style without noting the restful sense of spacious leisure that pervades the book. And our debt should be acknowledged also to Dr. Folwell's unfailing eye for telling phrases by other men. Time and again, from the bushels of dusty and prosy correspondence that he has waded through, he dredges up for us a sentence red-hot with feeling or gleaming with significance. It adds to gaiety of heart to find one founder of the commonwealth writing to Frank-

lin Steele, apropos of the amazing land-grab in the 1857 "sale" of the Fort Snelling reservation: "I think you and Rice ought to have let me into that Fort Snelling affair, as we started the game together" (p. 513, n. 93); or another cautioning a friend regarding entry of the scandalous half-breed scrip: "Much more land than the scrip calls for can be obtained by *management*. Get ———— to go to the surveyor general with you" (p. 484, n. 39).

The use of the blank in the last quotation is perhaps rather too characteristic. I have noticed in the volume six other cases of intentional suppression of a name connected with some more or less disreputable incident. True, in most cases a curious inquirer could trace the missing names from the context or from the circumlocutions employed, and probably they are of no historical consequence anyway. Still the obvious trouble taken to avoid saying "John Smith" arouses apprehension in some readers. Dr. Folwell is absolutely fearless, and, in his province of investigator, he has gone to the bottom of every unsavory mess that obtruded itself upon his study; but he has a gentleman's aversion to mud-slinging. The next volume of his history will disclose whether this quality, together with his native kindliness and a natural and honorable reluctance to bespatter former associates, especially when they no longer can make defense, is impairing the historical value of his work. His task is no easy one.

Dr. Folwell came to the state in 1869 as president of the incipient University of Minnesota, an eager young scholar who had tasted the best fruit of American and European culture and who had given evidence of practical power by winning rapid promotion during the Civil War as an officer of engineers in the Army of the Potomac. More than forty years later he retired from public employment at an age already in excess of the Biblical span, still vigorous and alert in mind and body and with the mellowing wisdom that the passing seasons bestow upon such happily constituted souls. For congenial employment to fill his remaining years, he then turned at once to the study and presentation of the history of the state of which, Æneas-like, he himself has been so large a part. Soon afterward he published a brief *Minnesota* in the *American Commonwealths* series — "an agree-

able recreation for which I trust to be forgiven," reads his modest reference to it in his "Apology" to this larger work. And certainly, despite many excellences, that early study gave little suggestion of the painstaking and scrupulous investigation and of the ripe historical method that have gone, during the intervening years, to the preparation of the present volume.

When Dr. Folwell began this study fifteen years ago, at seventy-four, he would have been the first to disclaim for himself the name "historian." Today, in addition to his greater honors, he has earned in fullest measure whatever glory that title carries. He had long since become so well known as an administrator and as a student of political science that perhaps, at first, pardonable misgivings arose in the breasts of some historical specialists at his invasion of their chosen field. It should be enough to remind any such that our author, on the basis of an unusually wide acquaintance with allied subjects and with books and men, has now served to Clio herself a longer and a stricter apprenticeship than is ordinarily thought needful to prepare the innocent mind of a callow youth for some *magnum opus*. Let us rejoice that now and then we are blessed with a specialist bigger than his speciality.

The volume is authentic, authoritative, adequate. As a history of the beginnings of an American commonwealth, it is almost unique in its completeness and finality. The long, painstaking investigation of material, printed, manuscript, and oral, has been carried through with the zeal of a closeted scholar; and to the interpretation of the results, the author has brought the practical insight and consumate balance of judgment and the understanding of the complex web of human motive, that can belong only to a man of affairs.

The first ninety pages are given to the two centuries of exploration in the Northwest before the year 1800. That legendary personage, the average reader, will probably care least for this part of the book. Critics, too, may find it least completely satisfying. And yet here we have a varied panorama of farsighted explorer, devoted missionary, daring and greedy trader, and the tribal warfare of Sioux and Ojibway. The adventurous heroism of a La Salle, a Du Luth, or a Hennepin receives its due, but it

is not permitted to blind the reader to other more universal traits. An historian of early Virginia, I remember, is somewhere constrained to acknowledge that the imagination of the worthy Captain John Smith "did sometimes transcend the narrow limits of fact." These almost contemporary heroes and martyrs of the Northwest reveal themselves possessed of equally robust imaginations, each for his own achievements, along with a more discreditable disposition to diminish one another's fame. Says Dr. Folwell, after a critical comparison of early personal narratives: "Whoever looks for candor and generosity in the writings of the early explorers, clerical and lay, will be disappointed. Those writings may be said to *contain* truth" (p. 31).

With chapter 5 we come to the story of Minnesota proper. Fifty pages serve to present the explorations by agents of the United States government within the borders of the future state and the establishment of the military post at Fort Snelling. Nearly a fourth of this space goes to a vivid account of the determination of the true source of the Mississippi, with a necessary excursus to cover the final settlement of the question after the fraudulent Glazier claim had reawakened controversy in 1881. I cannot refrain from calling attention, regretfully, to certain language of the author here (p. 127). After stern and just condemnation of the "unconscionable adventurer," the text continues: "It became necessary . . . for the legislature of Minnesota to forbid the use in the schools of the state of any textbook recognizing the claim of this pretended discoverer." This act of the Minnesota legislators does not exactly go on all fours with legislation proposed in a sister state to forbid the use of texts teaching the theory of evolution; but it is at least an altogether unnecessary intrusion of legislative authority into the field of science, and we should have expected Dr. Folwell's wording to avoid appearance of approval.

To return to our history — chapter 7 presents adequately the interesting but rather tragic story of early Protestant missions among the Minnesota Indians; and chapter 8 pictures the coming of the first true white settlers — traders, lumbermen, and finally farmers — until 1849, when we see a few hundred inhabitants distributed among Stillwater, St. Paul, St. Anthony, and a few

smaller stations like Mendota and Marine, with a dubious and shifting population of half-breeds in the distant Pembina district. Through the remaining half of the book the sweep of the story broadens and deepens to its real culmination in the dramatic account of the unique struggle over the formation of the state constitution in 1857 (chapter 15). Here, in the interest of all the unities, this volume should have found its period. The following and concluding chapter on the Fort Snelling reservation bears the character of a somewhat awkward addendum, forced in at this point, one may suppose, by editorial considerations of space. That story, too, has interest enough; but it comes upon a stage all set for other actors.

A few high-lights remain for acknowledgment. The cession of their Minnesota lands in 1851 by the Sioux is quite as fit a subject for story and song and the artist's brush as was ever the much besung treaty of William Penn. The story of the treaty of Traverse des Sioux, despite its discussion in some excellent monographs, has never before become a part of the literature of America. Here is one of the most striking illustrations in all our history of the dominating influence of the frontier trader in controlling the relations between our government and its "wards." Without the traders' secret influence, no appropriations from Congress sufficient to induce the Indians to "cede" their hunting grounds! And no treaty at all unless Congress yield to the insertion of certain "weasel" clauses, under color of which, all inside parties know in advance, the funds will go in the main, not to the nominal beneficiaries, but to the traders!

Quite as strikingly are portrayed the shameless attempts at land-grabs by certain of the fathers in connection with early railway charters, and the even more dishonest manipulation of half-breed "scrip" in the repeated location of rich pine tracts. Dr. Folwell's exposé of methods is unqualified; his indignant condemnation of the dishonesty of the thieves and of their coadjutors is outspoken (though names are spared for the most part); but it is not clear that he feels any particular sympathy for the society that was robbed of its heritage. In this volume, anyway, there is no serious attempt to indicate the amount of these stealings or to

estimate the injury that they wrought, and are wreaking, upon the later development of the commonwealth. Subsequent volumes, however, may supply the omission more effectively than is possible at this point of the story.

Presumably, we owe our thanks to Dr. Buck for securing for the publication a form so dignified, handsome, and unblemished — a joy to the reader's eye. Credit for the excellent index and maps and, in some measure, for the admirable bibliographical notes, is declared due to editorial assistants of the historical society.

WILLIS MASON WEST

The Political Career of Ignatius Donnelly. By JOHN D. HICKS. (Reprinted from the *Mississippi Valley Historical Review,* vol. 8, no. 1–2, 1921. p.80–132.)

The wealth of available materials and the intrinsic importance of the subject make almost certain the eventual appearance of a comprehensive biography of Ignatius Donnelly. The path of the biographer has been cleared by Dr. Hicks in his recently published account of the political career of the great Minnesota "apostle of protest." In condensing a very large subject Dr. Hicks has been forced to exclude a detailed exposition of many significant and inviting episodes. But in this trail-blazing process with its resultant brevity, he has achieved a clear treatment of fundamental matters. Bringing the principal facts together into a well-knit synthesis, Dr. Hicks has sketched the career of Donnelly against its natural background, that "agrarian crusade" of which the Granger Movement, the Farmers' Alliance, and Populism were the chief manifestations in the period from 1870 to 1900. Donnelly is properly presented as a type. He is representative of that considerable element in the American population which, increasingly conscious of the inequalities generated by the advance of the industrial revolution and profoundly disturbed by those conditions which formed the basis of widespread agricultural unrest, sought relief by formulating and supporting the programs of third parties.

These programs were regarded at the time as radical. Many of the third party demands were impractical and ephemeral, and were quickly cast aside. Many others, and among them the more important, were economically sound but in advance of their time. The parties which sprang up in quick succession won few conspicuous victories. But they succeeded in jolting the complacent major parties, which were just awakening to the fact that the Civil War was over. As a result of organized agitation, the ideas for which the third parties stood gained headway, and ultimately some of them were adopted by the dominant parties which translated them into legislation. This was the great role of the radical parties, and herein lay the fundamental service of popular leaders like Ignatius Donnelly. Doubtless Donnelly did not possess that "balance wheel" which maintains equilibrium for the "safe and sane" type. He exemplified the "lunacy fringe." He was a bold iconoclast, an eager enthusiast, a radical reformer, a daring weaver of theories. But the historian writes him down as one of that band of dreamers from whose dreams "grow the realities of tomorrow." Perhaps one ought to add that many of the more fantastic of the third party demands were brought forward, not because the majority element of the third party favored them, but in order to unify all the forces of discontent and radicalism. That is, a few planks were inserted in order to win the support of that outer fringe of lunacy, the species commonly known as "cranks."

That the third party movements sprang from real economic grievances and that they stood for many sound reforms, the legislation of the last thirty years both in state and nation affords ample evidence. As Dr. Hicks points out, "Many have almost forgotten that once it was only the lunacy fringe which advocated the abolition of slavery, the regulation of railway rates, the control of the trusts, the rights of labor, the election of United States senators by direct vote of the people, equal suffrage for men and women, and the prohibition of the liquor traffic." Dr. Hicks asserts that Donnelly was not a radical as judged by the standards of our times. "His final appeal was always to the ballot-box." He was a radical as judged by contemporary standards, however.

In the course of his research Dr. Hicks has utilized the Donnelly Papers, an important manuscript collection owned by the Minnesota Historical Society. The unique and rich materials in this collection have been supplemented by research in the files of newspapers of the Northwest covering the period from the late sixties to approximately 1900. All statements of fact are scrupulously anchored down by exact footnote references to sources.

Dr. Hicks describes Donnelly as a distinctly western type. Of Irish origin, he was born in Philadelphia, received a good schooling, read law with Benjamin Bristow, and in 1856, at the age of twenty-five, adopted the advice which Horace Greeley is supposed to have given. Three years after his arrival in Minnesota Donnelly was lieutenant governor of the state. In 1863 he was elected congressman. After six years in Congress he returned to Minnesota, and about this time he began to exhibit signs of dissatisfaction with the regular Republican party, with which he had thus far affiliated. An independent in 1870, he supported Horace Greeley in 1872, became a Granger in 1873, and was elected to the state senate. In 1874 he began the publication of the *Anti-Monopolist,* a newspaper in which he waged vigorous and unrelenting war against monopoly and "plutocracy." He was soon drawn into the Greenback fold and again ran for Congress. Defeated in politics he turned his hand to the writing of books. He was as much a literary as a political rebel. Among many curious and original works which he published none attracted so much attention as his double-decked, pseudo-scientific attempt to prove, by means of *The Great Cryptogram* that Bacon wrote the Shakespearean plays.

After dealing briefly, perhaps too briefly, with the literary side of Donnelly's career, Dr. Hicks traces the activity of Donnelly through the period of the Farmers' Alliance and finally that of the Populist movement, analyzing carefully the part that he played in those phases of the farmers' crusade. While Dr. Hicks contributes some new facts to the general knowledge of the Farmers' Alliance, the reviewer feels that the Alliance background of Donnelly's career at this stage might perhaps have been brought out more fully. It is to be hoped that the author will eventually

produce a comprehensive monograph on the Farmers' Alliance in the Northwest. A book on this subject is needed. In fact a complete study of the Farmers' Alliance is a desideratum; Dr. Solon J. Buck has adequately dealt with the Granger movement, but no similar work on the Alliance has appeared.

Dr. Hicks concludes his study with a discriminating estimate of Donnelly's personal characteristics and of his career as a whole. That it is quite possible to write an account at once thoroughly scientific in character and very interesting to read, Dr. Hicks has demonstrated in a praiseworthy manner. But he has done more than this. He has given to historical students a scholarly and well-written study of an important figure in the history of the Northwest, and has made a substantial contribution to knowledge of one not unimportant phase of the history of the United States.

Theodore C. Blegen

MINNESOTA HISTORICAL SOCIETY NOTES

"An Illustrated Ramble through Minnesota History" was the subject of a talk by Mr. Willougby M. Babcock Jr., curator of the museum, at an open session held in connection with the stated meeting of the executive council on the evening of October 10, 1921. With the aid of the society's new stereopticon and reflectoscope, Mr. Babcock exhibited selections from the society's extensive collection of pictures illustrative of Minnesota history.

A number of other organizations make use of the auditorium in the Historical Building for occasional meetings. Thus the Minnesota Garden Flower Society held a meeting there on the afternoon of April 14, 1921, which was attended by nearly two hundred persons and at which the curator of the museum spoke briefly on the work of the historical society. The room also was used by the Minnesota society of the Sons of the American Revolution for a meeting on the evening of April 19, the anniversary of the battles of Lexington and Concord. Professor Albert E. Jenks of the University of Minnesota was the speaker on this occasion and members of the Daughters of the American Revolution were honor guests. Such meetings bring to the building many people who might not otherwise become aware of its attractions.

In accord with the new provisions of the by-laws (see *ante*, 55) three members were enrolled as patrons and seven as contributing-life members prior to October 1, 1921. The patrons are Fred S. Bell of Winona, and Edward H. Cutler and Mrs. Charles P. Noyes of St. Paul. The contributing-life members are Henri J. Bernier of Oakland, California; Robert I. Farrington, Mrs. Charles E. Furness, Mrs. Andrew R. McGill, and Mr. Robert C. McGill of St. Paul; Mr. Chauncey C. McCarthy of Grand Rapids, and Mrs. John Washburn of Minneapolis.

Seventy-six people joined the society as active members during the six months ending on September 30, 1921. In the follow-

ing list the names of these new members are grouped by counties:

Chisago: Raymond C. Andrews of Lindstrom.

Crow Wing: Charles D. Johnson of Brainerd.

Dakota: Edgar F. Gould of South St. Paul.

Hennepin: R. H. Adams, Mrs. Mary B. Aiton, Charles S. Benson, Mrs. Walter E. Camp, William Y. Chute, Mrs. Marshall H. Coolidge, Ernest T. Critchett, Henry B. Dike, George P. Douglas, Mrs. George P. Douglas, Mrs. Francis L. Frary, Charles B. Mills, Mrs. K. E. Mo, Walter S. Pardee, Mrs. William W. Remington, Harlan P. Roberts, Nils N. Rönning, Malcolm C. Shurtleff, Joseph E. Smith, Erling Swenson, Mrs. John Washburn, Mrs. William C. Whitney, and Mrs. Oscar D. Wisner, all of Minneapolis.

Itasca: Chauncey C. McCarthy of Grand Rapids.

Lac qui Parle: Nathaniel Soderberg and Charles E. Peterson of Madison.

Le Sueur: Jonas W. Root of Elysian.

Mille Lacs: Dr. Guy R. Caley of Princeton.

Olmsted: Henry O. Christensen and John M. Rowley of Rochester.

Pine: J. Adam Bede of Pine City.

Pope: Leonard H. Pryor of Glenwood.

Polk: Andrew D. Stephens of Crookston.

Ramsey: Livia Appel, Samuel Appleton, Elizabeth K. Clark, Beaver Wade Day, Dr. George Earl, William H. Fobes, Samuel F. Fullerton, Pierce P. Furber, John M. Geist, Oscar C. Greene, Louis W. Hill, John N. Jackson, James C. Michael, Mrs. Charles P. Noyes, Carl Schuneman, Kenneth O. Snortum, John J. Watson, and William L. West, all of St. Paul.

Rice: Arthur L. Keith and Walter M. Patton of Northfield.

St. Louis: Marshall W. Alworth, Luther B. Arnold, William D. Bailey, Arthur H. Brown, Fred W. Buck, William A. Cant, C. Francis Colman, John H. Darling, Bert Fesler, Francis J. O'Donnell, William I. Prince, William Prindle, Philip L. Ray, Herbert R. Spencer, John D. Stryker, and Coryate S. Wilson, all of Duluth.

Todd: Mrs. Lydia De Laurier of Long Prairie.

WASECA: Edward A. Everett and Guy W. Everett of Waseca.
NON-RESIDENT: Reverend Carl Kraft of Rock Island, Illinois.

The society lost twelve active members by death during the six months ending September 30, 1921: Charles W. Ames of St. Paul, April 3; Michael J. Dowling of Olivia, April 25; Charles P. Noyes of St. Paul, April 30; George A. Brackett of Minneapolis, May 17; Henry Wadsworth of Glencoe, May 29; Henry L. Simons of Glencoe, June 13; Ambrose Guiterman of St. Paul, June 17; John Espy of St. Paul, July 9; Albert R. Moore of St. Paul, July 19; Neil Currie of St. Paul, August 4; Frank L. Randall of Minneapolis, August 5; and Victor M. Watkins of St. Paul, September 19; also one honorary member, George F. Wright of Oberlin, Ohio, April 20.

The society's offer to enroll public and school libraries in Minnesota as subscribers to its publications on the same terms as those of annual individual membership was accepted by ten institutions prior to October 1, 1921. They are the public libraries of Chisholm, Cloquet, Duluth, Fergus Falls, Graceville, Keewatin, Litchfield, Minneapolis, Pine Island (the Van Horne Public Library), and Winona.

In response to an invitation from the regents and faculties of the University of Minnesota the society was represented at the inauguration of Dr. Lotus D. Coffman as president of the university on May 13, 1921, by Mr. Frederick G. Ingersoll, vice president, and Dr. Solon J. Buck, secretary and superintendent.

The first volume of Dr. William W. Folwell's new *History of Minnesota* was the subject of extensive advance articles in the issues of the *St. Paul Pioneer Press,* the *Minneapolis Tribune,* and the *Minneapolis Journal* of June 5. The articles, which were compiled from proof, were made up largely of selections from the book and were accompanied by reproductions of some of its maps and illustrations.

The first edition of the society's *Handbook,* which was published in May, 1920, having been exhausted, a second edition, revised and brought up to date, has been issued. A copy of this

booklet of forty-six pages, containing a succinct account of the history, organization, and activities of the society, will be sent free of charge to anyone interested upon request.

The importance of the systematic collection and preservation in libraries of complete files of magazines as they are published is well illustrated by a letter published in the *Library Journal* for May 15. In this letter Mr. J. B. Childs of the University of Illinois asks for information about a copy of the *United Banker* for March, 1911. Mr. Child reports that he has sought in vain for a file of this magazine, which was published in Minneapolis, in the public libraries of Minneapolis, St. Paul, Chicago, and New York, the libraries of the University of Minnesota, the Minnesota Historical Society, and the American Bankers' Association, the John Crerar Library, and the Library of Congress. The Minnesota Historical Society now attempts to preserve complete files of all magazines published in Minnesota and usually receives the hearty coöperation of the publishers.

During the school year from September, 1920, to June, 1921, more than 6,400 students and teachers visited the museum in 165 classes. This is nearly twice the number of those who came in classes during the preceeding year.

A special exhibit consisting of four dresses and several hats of the Civil War period selected from the society's costume collection was loaned to the Mannheimer Brothers store in St. Paul for display in connection with the celebration, in April, of the fiftieth anniversary of its establishment. The window attracted much attention and full credit was given to the society in the accompanying label.

The museum is anxious to enlarge its collection of military uniforms and equipment. Very little of the Spanish War period has been received, and representative specimens of that time are particularly desired.

The last legislature appropriated the sum of two hundred dollars for improving the grounds around the Wood Lake battle monument and directed that the money be expended under the di-

rection of the society. This monument was erected by the state in 1910 to commemorate and mark the site of the last battle of the Sioux War. It is located on an acre of land acquired by the state for the purpose in Yellow Medicine County, about seven miles from Echo. The superintendent of the society visited the site on September 30, conferred with a number of people interested in the matter, and arranged for a local committee consisting of Messrs. H. G. Odden, A. E. Koch, and G. H. Homme to supervise the work. It is expected that this will include the clearing away of some brush and trees, the construction of paths, and the erection of a fence around part of the land.

The superintendent of the society was one of the speakers at the celebration of the semicentennial of Lac qui Parle County held in connection with the county fair at Madison on September 29. His subject was "The Significance of the Lac qui Parle Country in the History of Minnesota," and he pointed out some of the opportunities for local historical work.

Miss Wihelmina Carothers, formerly head cataloguer on the staff of the society, has been appointed librarian to succeed Mr. R. W. G. Vail, who resigned to accept a position with the Roosevelt Memorial Association in New York; and Miss Elizabeth Clark has been appointed to the position of head cataloguer. Other new members of the staff are Mr. Cecil W. Shirk, field secretary; Dr. Grace Lee Nute, curator of manuscripts; Mr. Jacob Hodnefield, head of the accessions department; Miss Clara N. Penfield, assistant cataloguer; Miss Marie N. V. Pearson, stenographer; Miss Irene Bulov, catalogue clerk; and Miss Ruth Houle, catalogue typist.

Michael J. Dowling

Resolutions of the Executive Council of the Society

Whereas, Michael J. Dowling, a member of this council, was removed from our midst by death on April 25, 1921; and

Whereas, Mr. Dowling, although elected to the council only three months before his death, had shown great interest in the society since his election as a member in 1904 and had worked

actively to promote its interest, particularly in the matter of securing adequate appreciation of its work on the part of members of the legislature, — therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the executive council of the Minnesota Historical Society, that we hereby express our deep appreciation of the services of Michael J. Dowling to the Minnesota Historical Society and our sense of the great loss which has come to the society and to this council through his death;

RESOLVED, That the superintendent be directed to arrange for the writing of a suitable biographic sketch of Mr. Dowling for publication in the society's magazine, the *Minnesota History Bulletin;* and be it further

RESOLVED, That these resolutions be spread upon the minutes of this body and that copies thereof be furnished to the family of Mr. Dowling.

CHARLES PHELPS NOYES

Resolutions of the Executive Council of the Society

WHEREAS, Charles Phelps Noyes, a member of this council, was removed from our midst by death on April 30, 1921; and

WHEREAS, Mr. Noyes was a most useful and active member of the society from his election in 1893, serving on this council from 1894 to his death and as president from 1915 to 1918 and rendering very great services in connection with the planning and construction of the new building, — therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the executive council of the Minnesota Historical Society, that we hereby express our deep appreciation of the services of Charles Phelps Noyes to the Minnesota Historical Society and our sense of the great loss which has come to the society and to this council through his death;

RESOLVED, That the superintendent be directed to arrange for the writing of a suitable biographic sketch of Mr. Noyes for publication in the society's magazine, the *Minnesota History Bulletin;* and be it further

RESOLVED, That these resolutions be spread upon the minutes of this body and that copies thereof be furnished to the family of Mr. Noyes.

Accessions

Recent transfers of archives from the several state departments to the custody of the society have made a large mass of source material, some of it of great value, available to students of history. From the office of the secretary of state have come legislative bills and papers and the original House and Senate journals for the period from 1881 to 1893 inclusive (the earlier files of these series were transfered in 1920); bonds of county officers and notaries public, 1849 to 1912; election papers, principally abstracts of votes, 1857 to 1918; correspondence files, 1891 to 1920; and the original schedules of the federal and state censuses of 1850, 1860, 1865, 1870, 1875 and 1885. (Part of the schedules of the census of 1880 were received from the census bureau in Washington several years ago.) The adjutant general's office has turned over a quantity of records dating from 1881 to 1918 and including reports, general and special orders, rosters, and correspondence. Other archival material received includes a collection of pay rolls gathered by the minimum wage commission in 1920 and additional records, dating from 1863 to 1887, of the surveyor general of logs and lumber for the first (Stillwater) district.

An extensive and important accession of the summer consists of a large collection of records, manuscripts, books, and periodicals accumulated by the Reverend George C. Tanner of Minneapolis as registrar of the Episcopal Diocese of Minnesota and turned over to the society by his successor, the Reverend Guy Menefee of Faribault, in accordance with a resolution adopted by the diocesan council several years ago by which the society was designated as the depository of the historical records of the diocese. The manuscript material in the collection covers the period from the forties to the second decade of the present century and includes accounts of the work of early missionaries among the Indians, records and histories of the separate parishes, notes on the lives and labors of prominent clergymen, descriptions of the country and the Indians, statements concerning the relations between missionaries and Indian agents, and papers relating to a

variety of other subjects. Of primary interest are the seven volumes of Bishop Henry B. Whipple's diary covering the period from 1859 to 1870 and also his reminiscences, which were dictated to Mr. Tanner. Other papers which deserve special mention are the minutes of the primary convention of the diocese in 1856, the diaries of the Reverend E. Steele Peake and the Reverend Timothy Wilcoxson, and a wealth of material written by or about the Reverend J. Lloyd Breck. All this is invaluable material not only for its contribution to the history of the Episcopal church but also for the light it throws on the general development of the territory and the state. The printed material in the collection includes an almost complete file of the *Gospel Messenger and Church Record of Western New York* from its beginning in 1827 to 1871, files of the journals of many other dioceses of the Episcopal church, and hundreds of other volumes of church records and periodicals.

Some papers of Governor Horace Austin, consisting, for the most part, of letters to and from political associates written during the decade from 1870 to 1880, have been presented by his son, Mr. Herbert Austin of St. Paul. The chief correspondent in this period was a future governor, Andrew R. McGill, whose papers also are in the possession of the society; thus the new acquisition supplements an older collection. State politics is the general theme of the letters and some very interesting incidents come to light. Evidences of the aftermath of the Civil War appear in letters of two men, well known in Minnesota history, who wrote to Governor Austin to secure influence in getting "carpetbagging" positions in the South; the anxiety felt by petty officeholders over the solution of the Hayes-Tilden election problem is evident in several letters; and correspondence with the secretary of the treasury shows Austin to have been an advocate of civil service reform some years before Garfield's campaign.

A valuable recent acquisition is the original diary of Colonel Elmer E. Ellsworth, the leader of the famous United States Zouave Cadets and one of the first soldiers killed in the Civil War. This diary was given in 1861 to Corporal Francis E.

Brownell, the soldier who shot and bayonetted the assailant of Ellsworth a moment after the latter had fallen. A few years ago Mrs. Edgar B. Barton of St. Paul, a step-daughter of Brownell, presented to the society the Zouave uniform worn by Brownell in 1861. Now Mr. Barton has presented a collection of papers including, in addition to the diary, a number of letters, newspaper clippings, manuscript copies of articles, and pictures. Much of this material relates to the picturesque Zouaves and their gallant leader. An interesting article on Ellsworth appeared in 1918 in the *Wisconsin Magazine of History* (1:349–374), written by Charles A. Ingraham as an introduction to a forthcoming biography of the "first hero of the Civil War." Mr. Ingraham, who has conducted a long and unsuccessful search for the diary, states that John Hay probably had access to it at one time and that citations from it have on several occasions appeared in print. Fortunately the original has not been destroyed, as Mr. Ingraham fears. The period covered by the diary is very brief, however, only from April 11 to August 25, 1859. If the diarist continued his daily record after the latter date, the document as preserved among the Brownell papers is incomplete.

A collection of books, papers, and museum objects accumulated by the late Stanford Newel, who served as United States minister to the Netherlands from 1897 to 1905 and was one of the American delegates to the Hague International Peace Conference of 1899, has been presented to the society by his nephew, Mr. David W. Morison of St. Paul. The collection includes the commissions, signed by Presidents McKinley and Roosevelt, by which Mr. Newel was appointed to the diplomatic post in Holland; a series of twenty-eight bronze medals issued by the Dutch government; a number of photographs, including a group picture of the delegates at the Hague in 1899 and an autographed portrait of Queen Wilhelmina; and a wealth of printed material relating to the peace conference.

Much Minneapolis history from 1857 to 1920 is preserved in the correspondence and papers of the late George A. Brackett which have been presented to the society by his son, Mr. Chapin

R. Brackett. Although the collection is a large one, it comprises only a part of the papers which Mr. Brackett left. It consists of personal letters and papers, five letter books, a long series of account books, and six scrapbooks dealing with such subjects as Alaska, the growth of Minneapolis, the First Minnesota Volunteer Infantry, and the Northern Pacific Railroad. Mr. Brackett was connected with numerous local projects of a municipal and philanthropic nature, and his papers contain a wealth of material on such subjects. There is also considerable correspondence relating to the building of the Northern Pacific Railroad and some material of great value dealing with Mr. Brackett's road into the Alaska gold fields. The correspondence includes letters from a large number of pioneers and from prominent Minnesotans such as James J. Hill, William D. Washburn, John S. Pillsbury, Cushman K. Davis, Knute Nelson, and William Windom.

A small collection of papers of Richard Chute, one of the pioneer settlers of St. Anthony, has been presented by his son, Mr. Charles R. Chute of Pasadena, California, through the courtesy of Dr. Folwell. From the patents, indentures, and deeds among these papers one can reconstruct portions of the early history of several Minnesota townships and can observe the process by which many western towns came into being. It appears that Princeton, for example, was owned in 1856 by a group of five men, who employed a resident agent to negotiate with prospective settlers for the sale of lots. The collection includes a map of this town issued by the original proprietors in 1856, with annotations and explanations written in by hand, and the report of the agent for that year, noting the sales of individual lots and the purchasers' names. Other papers of special interest in this collection include records of the Andrews Presbyterian Church of St. Anthony and a letter from Robert Watson of Montreal, dated February 10, 1880, which deals with the St. Paul and Pacific Railroad.

The papers of the Honorable Moses D. Sherburne, for whom Sherburne county was named, are the recent gift of the Honorable John W. Willis of St. Paul. Legal matters mostly of the

fifties and sixties, with letters from his clients, form the larger part of the collection.

Through the thoughtfulness of Mr. Jens K. Grondahl, president of the Red Wing Printing Company, an accession of importance has come to the society's collection of Civil War manuscripts. This is "The Story of Company F, First Regiment. By James A. Wright, One of its Orderly Sergeants," consisting of 875 typewritten sheets. The author recounts the experiences not only of his company but also to some extent of the entire regiment from its inception at the call to arms till it was mustered out of service in 1864. The account is based in large part on the author's diary, kept through the entire period, and on letters written to his mother. Where he had no record, he drew on his memory and on printed authorities.

A few Civil War letters of Thomas McLean Newson, Civil War major and lecturer and one of the founders of the *St. Paul Times,* the predecessor of the present *Pioneer Press,* together with a sketch of his life, have been deposited by his daughter, Miss Mary J. Newson of St. Paul. Among the letters is an anonymous note signed with a skull and crossbones which was received by Mr. Newson in Washington in 1861. This curious epistle warned him of impending death, saying that nothing could save him. The other letters relate mainly to Mr. Newson's duties as an officer in the army.

From the Harvard College Library, through the kindness of Mr. Thomas F. Currier, assistant librarian, and Professor Frederick J. Turner, the society has received a manuscript copy of "Reminiscences by Mrs. Julia K. S. Hibbard, embracing memories of pioneer days in Minnesota, 1856–1868, and of a journey by prairie wagon to Missouri in 1868, with a brief reference to the Minnesota Sioux War of 1863." Mrs. Hibbard was brought to Steele County by her parents when she was twelve years old, and her story presents a vivid and interesting picture of domestic life on the frontier. The account of the trip to Missouri is taken from a contemporary diary.

From the Sibley House Association, through the courtesy of Mrs. Frank H. Jerrard, the society has received five letters addressed to General William G. Le Duc and the reminiscences of Auguste L. Larpenteur. The letters to General Le Duc are a welcome addition to the Le Duc Papers already in the possession of the society. Of special interest are two letters from General Sibley and one from Governor Ramsey relating to the visit of President Hayes to St. Paul in 1878. The Larpenteur reminiscences give the colorful history of one of the well-known pioneers of Minnesota. An interesting item tells of his making the first St. Paul post-office boxes, which are now on exhibition in the museum of the society.

In 1866, when rivals in the race for congressman from the first district, Richard Asbury Jones and William Windom traveled from city to city in Minnesota making speeches from the same platform. The little memorandum book in which Jones jotted down the substance of these speeches has been preserved and presented to the society by Mr. Richard Saxe Jones of Seattle, Washington.

Mr. James M. Drew of the agricultural extension division of the University of Minnesota has presented a series of diaries and account books kept by his father, Edward B. Drew, from 1849 to 1893. The entries in these little volumes are primarily of agricultural interest, as the writer spent nearly forty years on a farm at Rollingstone, near Winona, where he settled in the early fifties and where he raised the first "wheat ever brought to and sold in Winona." He was a representative in the legislature during the seventies.

An interesting letter written by Steffan Steffanson from Jefferson County, Iowa, in 1849, to relatives and friends in Sweden comes as a welcome addition to data already gathered on Scandinavian immigration to the Northwest. This letter, which describes the writer's experiences after leaving Sweden, is the gift of Professor George M. Stephenson of the University of Minnesota. A translation may be found in the *Minneapolis Journal* of October 10, 1920.

Mrs. William A. Dorsey, secretary of the Schubert Club of St. Paul, has deposited with the society the records of that organization and its predecessor, the Ladies' Musicale, from 1885 to 1917 — seventeen volumes in all. Minute books, secretary's and treasurer's books, scrapbooks of programs, and miscellaneous records are included.

Mr. Charles B. Kuhlmann, instructor in economics in the University of Minnesota, has presented a manuscript copy of his master's thesis on "The Development of Flour Milling in Minneapolis."

The editorial and other newspaper articles of Frank J. Mead of the *St. Paul Pioneer,* the *Minneapolis Times,* and other Twin City papers, preserved in a series of scrapbooks, have been deposited with the society by his daughter, Mrs. Ottilie Messick of Western Springs, Illinois. They date from 1872 to 1892 and form an interesting chain of comments on and interpretations of leading events in the United States and particularly in Minnesota during those years.

Mr. Edson S. Gaylord of Minneapolis has recently secured and placed on deposit with the society a collection of ten commissions of Colonel Josiah Snelling. These commissions range in date from 1803 to 1819, and they represent the various ranks by which Snelling rose from sergeant in the Massachusetts militia to colonel in the United States Army. They are written some on paper and some on parchment and bear the signatures of a number of famous men, including Presidents Jefferson, Madison, and Monroe.

Judge William L. Kelley of St. Paul has presented a number of documents of Civil War interest, including an interesting autograph note from General William T. Sherman.

An autograph letter of Walt Whitman written in 1873 to a soldier boy of the Civil War has recently been received from Mrs. W. E. Conner of Minneapolis through the courtesy of Dean Frederick J. Wulling of the University of Minnesota. The soldier boy was Byron Sutherland, later a Minneapolis attorney, whom

Whitman met in a hospital which he visited in an effort to cheer the soldiers.

Through the kindness of Mr. Edwin C. Garrigues of Minneapolis the society has been enabled to add a third map of the early surveys of Fort Snelling to its collections. Several years ago photostatic copies were acquired of maps in the government archives at Washington made from the surveys of E. K. Smith in 1837 and of J. T. Thompson in 1839. The map now presented by Mr. Garrigues is a blue print of a tracing of a survey of 1857, which was furnished to him in 1912 by the war department. It contains some data not found on the other maps, notably the location of the residence of Franklin Steele.

A little leather trunk which was brought from England by sailing vessel in 1830 by her parents is the gift of Mrs. Edward P. Savage of St. Paul. She has also deposited a small portable mahogany writing desk, brought over at the same time, and a large doll, carefully dressed in the style of 1876. Another gift is a box of her husband's papers, relating in the main to the Children's Home Society of Minnesota, of which Mr. Savage was the founder.

The society's collection of specimens illustrating early American domestic life has been enriched during the past six months by gifts from Mrs. Mary H. Gaylord of Winona; Mrs. William F. Webster, Mrs. Winston B. Newell, Mrs. Alice S. Holmes, and Mrs. Eugene A. Hendrickson of Minneapolis; Mrs. George H. Hurd of St. Paul; and the estate of the late Miss Anna Jarden of Minneapolis. The articles contributed consist principally of old-fashioned dresses and other wearing apparel. Exceptions, however, are a Singer sewing machine, purchased in 1860, which was presented by Mrs. Hurd, and a handsome old eight-day clock with wooden works, made in Connecticut about 1820, which is a gift from Mrs. Holmes.

An interesting reminder of the duties of a schoolmaster in the early days is the quill pen-cutter which has been deposited with the society by Mr. Charles R. Riach of St. Paul.

Mr. R. E. Phillips of White Bear has presented an ironstone china plate of the "Ceres" or "Wheat" pattern, which is said to have been manufactured especially for the American market at Tunstall, England, about the middle of the nineteenth century.

Mr. Charles W. Farnham of St. Paul has presented a fine collection of twenty-six flags of the allied nations engaged in the World War, together with an autographed photograph of General John J. Pershing.

In the name of the Forty-first United States Infantry, Colonel Arthur Johnson, its commander, has presented to the society two large buffalo heads, in recognition of the fact that the regiment was organized at Fort Snelling in June, 1917. The regiment has recently been placed by the war department on the inactive list, and its members desire that a part of its personal property should be preserved in Minnesota, the state of its birth.

A small ox yoke used on young steers in 1851 is the gift of Mr. Charles J. Ray of Le Sueur Center. Since neither this yoke nor another belonging to the society are complete with bows and pins, gifts of these parts will be especially welcome.

Socks, sweaters, games, comfort kits, buttons, and many other articles illustrative of the varied activities of the American Red Cross during the World War are included in a large collection of specimens received from the St. Paul chapter of the American Red Cross. Pictures showing Red Cross units at work and the various uniforms used by the overseas workers add to the interest of the collection.

A special meeting of the Ladies Shakespeare Club of Minneapolis was held in the west hall of the museum on Tuesday morning, June 21, for the purpose of presenting to the society an enlarged photograph, appropriately framed, of the late Professor Emeritus Maria Sanford of the University of Minnesota. Mrs. Annie W. Buell, the retiring president, made the presentation on behalf of the club, and the curator of the museum accepted the portrait for the society. Professor Emeritus J. C. Hutchinson,

who was for many years a colleague of Miss Sanford, paid a fine tribute to her personality and energy.

In accordance with the terms of the will of the late Charles P. Bailly of St. Paul, a large framed oil portrait of Alexis Bailly, a pioneer Minnesota fur-trader, has been turned over to the society by Miss Kathrene S. Sleppy and the Reverend Charles E. Tuke of St. Paul, the executors of the estate.

A copy of the *Vicksburg Daily Citizen* of July 2, 1863, printed on wall paper because of the shortage of print paper during the siege of Vicksburg by the Union forces, has been received from Mr. I. J. Collins, a Civil War veteran, through the courtesy of Mr. Arthur D. White of Frazee. Many facsimile reproductions of this paper are in existence — several in the possession of the society — but a comparison of the copy received from Mr. Collins with descriptions of authenticated originals in other libraries indicates that it is a genuine copy of the original issue.

Mr. Frederick G. Ingersoll of St. Paul has presented a file of the *New York Evening Post*, daily, from January 4 to December 31, 1813. It is of special interest as a contemporary source of information about the War of 1812.

A gift of nearly a thousand books, pamphlets, magazines, and maps has been received from Mr. Horace V. Winchell, who recently removed from Minneapolis to Los Angeles. Of special interest are the thirty-one maps, mostly of areas in the Northwest, some of which are old and rare. Gifts of large lots of books, pamphlets, and magazines have also been received from Mr. Dietrich Lange of St. Paul and from the estate of the late Judge Frank C. Brooks of Minneapolis, through the courtesy of his daughter, Miss O. M. Brooks.

NEWS AND COMMENT

The June-September number of the *Mississippi Valley Historical Review* contains, besides the article on Ignatius Donnelly reviewed elsewhere in this number, an account of the fourteenth annual meeting of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association at Madison in April; a critique of "Rhodes's *History of the United States,*" by Lester B. Shippee; and "Trudeau's Description of the Upper Missouri," edited by Annie H. Abel. This document, which was written shortly after 1795, was included in the collection of papers of Joseph N. Nicollet recently discovered in the government archives in Washington and turned over to the Library of Congress. The introduction contains an account of the discovery of the collection and a brief statement of its contents, which appear to include valuable Minnesota material.

The thirteenth annual meeting of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association was held at Madison, Wisconsin, on April 15, 16, and 17. "State and Local History," by Clarence H. McClure, "Popularizing State History," by Floyd C. Shoemaker, "The Daughters of the American Revolution and Their Work in the Mississippi Valley," by Miss Jenn W. Coltrane, "Archeology of the North Mississippi Valley States in Relation to Their History," by George R. Fox, "The Historical Museum — Its Making and Its Teaching Value," by Edward C. Page, and "The Political Influence of Civil War Pensions, 1885–1897," by Donald L. McMurray were some of the papers on the program.

"What do you remember of T. R?" is the question which the Roosevelt Memorial Association is circulating throughout the country. Anyone who knew Colonel Roosevelt personally is asked to write the story of his acquaintance and send it with "any unusual books, pamphlets, cartoons, magazine articles, clippings or photographs, dealing with Roosevelt's life or interests," which he may possess, to the offices of the association at One Madison Avenue, New York.

The supervisor of public records of Massachusetts, in his *Annual Report* for the year ending November 30, 1920, announces that "the care, custody, condition and protection against fire of the public records" of 352 places were inspected during the year. Some of the results of such inspections may be inferred from the statements that records of five towns and six counties were repaired, renovated, restored, or bound by the Emery record preserving process; and that, while there were five fires in record depositories during the year, no records were destroyed except one readily replaceable volume, which had been left outside the safe. Some day the western states will wake up to the importance of giving more attention to the preservation of their local records.

Indiana bids fair to be the banner state of the West in the cultivation of the field of local history. The last legislature passed an act authorizing the county commissioners of any county having an historical society to appropriate fifteen hundred dollars a year for collecting, cataloguing, and printing historical material. Of this sum not to exceed nine hundred dollars may be used to pay the salary of a curator, whose duties shall be prescribed by the historical society. In the East organized historical activities, whether state or local in scope, have been privately conducted as a rule. In the West, however, the publicly supported state historical society has been the prevailing type; and, if this movement in Indiana is successful, it seems probable that, when effective local societies develop, they too will be public institutions, supported, in part at least, by the county or city which they serve. Indiana already had a considerable number of local historical societies, and several new ones have been organized since this law was enacted, including one at Fort Wayne with over two hundred charter members.

Another indication of the flowering of historical interest in Indiana is a state-wide historical and archeological survey, which is undertaken by the Indiana Historical Commission and the division of geology of the state conservation department in coöperation with the National Research Council. The purpose of the

survey is not only to secure descriptions of Indian mounds and archeological specimens but also to collect information about "such items as old books, diaries, antiques, letters, ledger books, old furniture, agricultural tools, transportation devices, war relics and heirlooms of historic value. In addition an effort will be made to locate historic sites, buildings, battlefields, and old churches and cemeteries, with the view of marking these spots throughout the state." It is to be hoped that such important sources of historical information as the county archives, private manuscript collections, and newspaper files will not be overlooked.

An historical marker of an unusual sort is the Dubois County Settlement Stone, erected near the site of the first white settlement in Dubois County, Indiana, by Mr. George R. Wilson of Jasper, Indiana, to commemorate the lives and deeds of the pioneers of the locality. Mr. Wilson also has published a booklet (47 p.) in which the stone is represented as telling the story of the early settlement of the county.

"A Guide to the Study of Local History and the Collection of Historical Material" is the title of an article by Jonas Viles and Jesse E. Wrench in the April number of the *Missouri Historical Review*. The same issue contains a brief article entitled "How You Can Organize a Local Historical Society," by C. H. McClure. Both of these articles contain suggestions of value to those interested in local history in any of the western states.

The activities of the Kansas State Historical Society for the two years ending June 30, 1920, are recounted in the *Twenty-second Biennial Report* of that organization (Topeka, 1921. 79 p.). The report of the committee on archeology presented at the 1919 meeting of the society contains an account of a "red pipestone or 'Catlinite' Roman cross" found near the site of a prehistoric Indian village in Marshall County, Kansas.

The Minnesota Territorial Pioneers and the Territorial Pioneer Women's Club held a joint meeting in the Old Capitol, St. Paul, on May 11 to celebrate the sixty-third anniversary of the

admission of Minnesota to the Union. During the first week in September members of the former organization gathered again at their log cabin on the state fair grounds to talk over their pioneer experiences. A photograph of a large group of pioneers posed in front of the log cabin is published in the rotogravure section of the *Minneapolis Tribune* for October 9, and pictures of some of the relics displayed in the cabin appear with a brief descriptive article in the *St. Paul Daily News* for August 28.

The *Western Magazine* should be commended for the regularity with which it publishes articles of local history interest. In the April issue, under the heading "Inspiration of a Picture," is printed a letter written in the eighties by Alex Hessler of Chicago to the late Captain Russell Blakeley of St. Paul, in which the writer tells of making daguerrotypes around St. Paul, St. Anthony, and Fort Snelling in 1851 and 1852, one of which — a picture of Minnehaha Falls — he claims furnished Longfellow with the inspiration for his "Hiawatha." The last page of the letter, the original of which is the property of the Minnesota Historical Society, is reproduced in facsimile. The story of the "Fight for Itasca State Park" is sketched by C. L. Llewellyn in the May issue, and in the June number an account of some of the early explorations around the headwaters of the Mississippi River appears in an article entitled "Searching for the Source." A sketch of the "Hereditary Feud of Sioux and Chippewa," with accounts of the principal battles, by Willoughby M. Babcock Jr., and a description of the "Last Days of the Last Vigilante," — John X. Biedler, — by Edmond B. DeLestry, appear respectively in the July and August issues.

Several articles by Albert B. Reagan, who was superintendent of the Bois Fort Indian Reservation at Nett Lake from 1909 to 1914, published in the *Proceedings* of the Indiana Academy of Science for 1919 (Fort Wayne, 1921), are valuable for the student of Indian social life. Of special interest to Minnesotans are the accounts of Chippewa customs and the descriptions of the country around Nett Lake, all of which are based upon personal

observations. One article has for its subject the methods followed by the Bois Fort Indians in harvesting and preparing for market and for use wild rice, which grows in great profusion in the shallow waters of Nett Lake (p. 241). A description of the country through which the author passed while taking a journey by canoe and rail in the valleys of the Nett Lake, Little Fork, and Big Fork rivers is contained in another article (pp. 249–251); and descriptions of various Chippewa games, of the ceremony of initiating an Indian into the "medicine lodge," and of an island in Nett Lake on the polished rocks of which appear primitive pictographs are combined in an article entitled "A Trip Among the Rainy Lakes" (pp. 253–259). "The Flood Myth of the Chippewas," which is recorded in detail by Mr. Reagan (pp. 347–352), is an interesting narrative woven about a primitive conception of a diety. The April-June number of the *American Anthropologist* contains a brief note by Mr. Reagan on "Some Chippewa Medicinal Receipts," copied from the notebook of a medicine man. The text is given in Chippewa, with a literal and a free English translation.

The issue for June 15 of *El Palacio,* a magazine published by the Museum of New Mexico, contains an interesting popular account of "Indian Music" by Frances Densmore of Red Wing. The author has studied the music of seven tribes, including the Chippewa and the Sioux, and the results of her investigations are being published by the Bureau of American Ethnology.

A series of articles "about the Indians of Minnesota, and particularly those living on or near the site of Minneapolis," by Albert M. Goodrich, has been running in the *Harriet News,* a weekly paper of the Lake Harriet district in Minneapolis. Installments appear in each issue from July 29 to October 1, with the exception of September 16. The first four articles are concerned chiefly with the work of the Pond brothers and other missionaries; the introduction of white men's tools among the Dakota and the origin of Indian corn are touched upon in the fifth and sixth; and the subject of the remaining three articles is the Dakota worship and mythology.

The *Thirty-Second Annual Archæological Report,* for 1920, issued as part of the appendix to the *Report* of the minister of education of Ontario, contains an illustrated article on "Snowshoes," presumably by the editor, Dr. Rowland B. Orr, and the fifth installment of "Ojibwa Myths and Tales," by Colonel George E. Laidlaw.

"The 'Goths' in the Kensington Inscription" is the title of a paper about the famous rune stone by Hjalmar R. Holand in the May issue of *Scandinavian Studies and Notes.* The paper was read at the eleventh annual meeting of the Society for the Advancement of Scandinavian Study at Northfield, on May 6.

"The Kensington Runestone," by Lawrence M. Larson, in the June issue of the *Wisconsin Magazine of History,* is a criticism of articles on that subject in previous issues of the magazine by Hjalmar R. Holand and Rasmus B. Anderson (see *ante,* 3: 320, 376, 471). This issue contains also an account of Father René Ménard, "The First Missionary in Wisconsin," by Louise P. Kellogg. "Jean Brunet, Chippewa Valley Pioneer," by William W. Bartlett, in the September number of same magazine, touches upon aspects of Minnesota history in the twenties and thirties.

The *Palimpset* for June contains a sketch of "Michel Aco — Squaw Man," by John C. Parish. Aco (Accault) was the leader of the expedition dispatched by La Salle in 1680 to explore the upper Mississippi — the expedition to which the name of one of the other members, Father Hennepin, is usually attached. The August number contains Charles J. Latrobe's account of his trip up the Mississippi from Fort Crawford to Fort Snelling and back in 1833, reprinted from his *Rambler in North America.*

A second article on "The Origin of the Name Oregon," by T. C. Elliot (see *ante,* 89), in the *Quarterly* of the Oregon Historical Society for June, containing further discussion of the career of Jonathan Carver and of his connections with Major Robert Rogers, will interest those who are concerned with the history of the West during the British period. Among the documents

accompanying the article are two petitions addressed by Carver to the king in 1769 and 1773, in which he asks compensation for his services in exploring the country west of the Great Lakes.

"Reminiscences of Jane Grey Swisshelm," the famous anti-slavery agitator who edited a paper at St. Cloud in the late fifties, by the Reverend S. J. Fisher, are published in the *Western Pennsylvania Historical Magazine* for July.

Conspicuous accomplishments of Minnesota troops in the Civil War are reviewed in an article in the *Minneapolis Tribune* for May 29. An account of the military career of Captain William B. Leach of the First Minnesota Volunteer Infantry, who is cited as "typical of the young men Minnesota sent out," is included. Portraits of some of the leaders of the Union army, of Captain Leach, and of General Horatio P. Van Cleve of the Second Minnesota Volunteer Infantry are among the illustrations.

On May 18 Governor Preus dedicated a monument in the National Cemetery at Nashville, Tennesee, to the memory of those Minnesotans who gave their lives in the Civil War and who are buried there. General C. C. Andrews of St. Paul and Judge Lorin Cray of Mankato also represented the state at the ceremony.

The Last Man's Club, composed of men who served with Company B of the First Minnesota Volunteer Infantry during the Civil War, held its thirty-sixth annual banquet at the Sawyer House in Stillwater on June 21. Four of the five surviving members attended the meeting.

The discovery by Mr. Arthur T. Adams of Minneapolis of the neglected graves of five victims of the Sioux Outbreak, members of the Dustin family, is described in the *Minneapolis Tribune* for June 12. Mr. Adams located the graves while engaged in a second pilgrimage to the scenes of the massacre of 1862 (see *ante*, 3: 535).

The Fort Ridgely State Park and Historical Association celebrated the fifty-ninth anniversary of the repulse of the Sioux at

Fort Ridgely on August 22 at the site of the siege. The principal speaker, the Honorable Theodore Christianson, touched upon the chief events leading up to and connected with the attack on the fort. A preliminary announcement of the celebration in the *Minneapolis Journal* for August 14 includes a resumé of the outstanding events of the Sioux Massacre. Reports of Mr. Christianson's speech are published in the issues for August 22 of the *Journal* and the *St. Paul Dipatch.*

Wandering away with Lieutenant Ambrose Freeman from the main command of the Sibley expedition, of which both were members, the late George A. Brackett of Minneapolis was lost on the prairie for seven days after his companion had been killed by Indians in July, 1863. The "pioneer's own account" of this adventure and of the hardships he suffered before he succeeded in finding his way to Fort Atchison is published in the *Minneapolis Tribune* for May 29, with portraits of some of the individuals who figure in his tale and illustrative sketches.

An account of the "Minneapolis-Fort Garry Fued" of 1873 is published in three installments in the *Minneapolis Tribune* for August 14, 21, and 28. The account, based upon material in one of the scrapbooks of the late George A. Brackett of Minneapolis, which gives the "entire story, in multitudinous newspaper clippings, telegrams, letters, receipted bills, and old photographs," includes a biography of "Lord Gordon Gordon," the bogus Scottish nobleman and swindler, and a lengthy narrative of the attempt of Chief Michael Hoy of the Minneapolis police force and several other Minneapolitans to sieze Gordon at Fort Garry and bring him into the United States. This attempt resulted in their arrest and imprisonment by the Canadian authorities, and the difficulties encountered by Mayor Brackett during the two months which he spent in obtaining their release are recounted. The illustrations include portraits of the principal individuals involved in the fued and a picture of Fort Garry in 1873.

Minneapolis was the scene from September 12 to 15 of the twenty-third national encampment of the United Spanish War

Veterans. A brief article in the *Minneapolis Tribune* for July 3 about the coming encampment is notable chiefly for the illustrations which accompany it. These consist of portraits of a number of Minnesotans who participated in the war against Spain, including Colonel A. W. Bjornstad, "commanding officer at Fort Snelling, who was a captain in the Thirteenth Minnesota" in 1898, and pictures of the Fifteenth Minnesota Volunteer Infantry passing in review at Camp Meade, Pennsylvania, and of Singalon Church near Manila, where a number of members of the Thirteenth Minnesota were wounded in action.

"The Dakota-Minnesota Interstate Drainage Suit," by E. F. Chandler, is the leading article in the April issue of the *Quarterly Journal* of the University of North Dakota. In addition to discussions of the legal and technical problems involved, it contains some account of the historical background of this important suit.

"The Constitution of Minnesota," by William Anderson, in the May number of the *Minnesota Law Review* is a "condensation of certain portions" of his *History of the Constitution of Minnesota* (reviewed *ante*, 41–44). The article sketches the history of the framing and adoption of the constitution, summarizes the amendments, and concludes with a discussion of "The Constitution Today."

In a column of the editorial page of the *Minneapolis Journal* which is intermittently devoted to articles about "Minnesota Politics," by Charles B. Cheyney, parallel cases in the political history of the state are sometimes cited to illustrate comments on present situations. For such a purpose in the issue of the *Journal* for August 16 the nomination and election of Congressman Charles R. Davis in 1902 through the influence of his predecessor, Joel P. Heatwole, is recalled; and in the issue for August 18 the battle for the senatorship between Governor Knute Nelson and Senator William D. Washburn in 1895 is described.

Reminiscences of the boyhood and youth of Senator Knute Nelson at Deerfield, Wisconsin, are published in the *Duluth Herald* for August 6.

The Bandwagon, a novel by former Congressman Franklin F. Ellsworth (Philadelphia, Dorrance, 1921), will have an interest for students of history as the author's interpretation of recent political developments and tendencies in Minnesota.

The differences between the styles and social customs of 1856 and the present and the difficulties involved in being a lady "when grandma was a girl" are set forth in a series of quotations from the *Lady's Guide to Perfect Gentility,* by Emily Thornwall, which are woven into a feature story in the *Minneapolis Tribune* for June 26. The illustrations consist of a number of fashion plates depicting the costumes of the middle of the nineteenth century. The evolution of male attire during the past century is outlined in another article in the *Tribune* for September 18. The costumes of past decades are illustrated in portraits of some prominent Minnesotans and in a series of fashion plates.

Some of the early and rare copies of songs in the collection of Mr. Arthur B. Hunt of St. Paul were exhibited by the St. Paul and Minneapolis public libraries during August. First editions of "The Star Spangled Banner," "Hail Columbia," and the first hymn book published in America were included in the display. The collection is described in the *St. Paul Pioneer Press* for August 7 and the *Minneapolis Journal* for August 14, and the former paper publishes a portrait of Francis Scott Key and reproductions of two of the songs.

"A History of the Medical School" of the University of Minnesota, prepared by Dr. Richard O. Beard for the Medical Six o'Clock Club and read before that organization on February 16, is published in three installments in the *Minnesota Alumni Weekly* for May 5 and 19 and June 2. This is an excellent account of the progress of medical education in Minnesota — of the combination of the small medical colleges of the state to bring about the unification of medical teaching in the university, an objective which was not reached until 1908; of the successive steps by which the curriculum was improved and enlarged; of the contributions to the school's success of numerous faculty members. In writing

his account of the later period of the medical school, the principal event of which is the affiliation with the Mayo Foundation, Dr. Beard received the assistance of Dr. H. E. Robertson. The author's charming style and sparkling humor make the article interesting reading.

In the *Polaris Weekly,* a publication of North High School of Minneapolis, for May 5 Dr. Folwell recalls the pioneer work in the field of public health of Dr. Charles N. Hewitt, who served as secretary of the state board of health from 1872 to 1897 and as professor of public health in the University of Minnesota from 1874 to 1902.

The adventurous career of a pioneer Minnesota physician, who, although he spent the major part of his life in this state, won distinction on another frontier and in a field of endeavor quite outside of his profession, is sketched by Dr. Howard A. Kelly of Baltimore in a pamphlet entitled *Layfayette Houghton Bunnell, M. D., Discoverer of the Yosemite* (New York, 1921. 15 p.), which is a reprint from the *Annals of Medical History* (3: 179–193). The story of Bunnell's boyhood in Detroit, where he came under the influence of his mother's cousin, Dr. Douglas Houghton, a member of the Schoolcraft expedition of 1832, and of his youth on the more remote frontier of Wisconsin and Minnesota, is passed over somewhat hastily in order that the romantic tale of his adventures in California may be more fully told. The account of his activities as a member of the Mariposa Battalion, which in March, 1850, tracked the hostile Yosemite Indians to their stronghold in the deep valley named for them upon Bunnell's suggestion, is made up largely of quotations from his book, the *Discovery of the Yosemite* (New York, 1880). Conflicting claims to the discovery of the valley also are considered. In conclusion, an account of Bunnell's medical career and of his life at Homer, near Winona, where he resided from 1865 until his death in 1903, is presented. The " fact of his medical education " is established by a reproduction, from the original in the possession of the Minnesota Historical Society, of his diploma from

the La Crosse Medical College of La Crosse, Wisconsin. The illustrations include also portraits of Dr. Bunnell and his wife.

A series of four articles, by Charles F. Collisson, on Minnesota as a butter-producing state is published in the Sunday issues of the *Minneapolis Tribune* for the month of September. The third and fourth articles deal with the histories of the movements for coöperative and centralizer creameries in the state.

The rush of gold-seekers to the Lake Vermilion region in 1866 and their abortive activities there are discussed in "Romance of Gold Island," by Martin Codel, in the *Northern Sportsman* for June. According to an article in the *St. Paul Pioneer Press* for May 8, this search for gold was an important factor in the discovery and early development of the state's great resources in that more prosaic metal — iron. Problems to which the growth of the mining industry has given rise provide material for two additional articles in recent issues of Twin City papers. The first, in the *Pioneer Press* for August 14, deals with the labors of the Reverend William J. Bell, the "missionary of the Mesaba," and his corps of workers in bringing religious instruction to the many foreigners of the district. The second, in the *Minneapolis Tribune* for September 4, gives the story of the removal of Hibbing from its location over a valuable ore deposit to an oreless area.

Two articles by Louis B. Schmidt on the "Internal Grain Trade of the United States 1860–1890" are published in the *Iowa Journal of History and Politics* for April and July (pp. 196–245 and 414–455). In the first article the author discusses the founding of a "great cereal and live-stock kingdom . . . in the North Central region"; in the second he deals with the development of the means of distributing the "huge surplus of grain and provisions" of this district. The latter phase of the subject is of particular interest to Minnesotans, since Mr. Schmidt treats in detail the growth of the ten great "primary grain markets of the Middle West," among which he stresses Minneapolis as the "foremost primary wheat market in the world" (p. 441). The movement to the East and South of grain and flour from the

western markets is to be the subject of a third article which will appear in a subsequent number of the *Journal.*

Under the title "The Life and Adventures of Capt. Stephen B. Hanks," an autobiography of unusual value and interest has been appearing in weekly installments in the *Saturday Evening Post* of Burlington, Iowa, beginning March 26 (see *ante*, p. 88). The portion of the narrative published previous to October 1 falls naturally into three divisions, each of which pictures a distinct phase of frontier life. The first traces the westward movement of a pioneering family group. The scene shifts from the vast Kentucky farm — a self-sustaining industrial unit dependent upon slave labor for the cultivation of its crops — where Captain Hanks was born in 1821 to the corn-raising country of southern Illinois and thence by several stages north and west to the permanent home established on the town site which became Albany, Illinois. Of greater interest to Minnesotans is the second division of the narrative, which takes the reader north to the St. Croix River Valley. Captain Hanks presents an intensely interesting account of his connection from 1841 to 1854 with the origin and growth of the lumber industry in this region. Various phases of the industry are described, for as an employee of the St. Croix Falls Lumber Company the author worked in the logging camp at Lake Pokegama, in the mill at St. Croix Falls, at driving logs down the St. Croix from the camp to the mill, and on rafts of logs and lumber which were sent from the mill down the St. Croix and Mississippi rivers to St. Louis. Especially noteworthy are the descriptions of his experiences as a raft pilot for John McKusick, the pioneer Stillwater lumberman. Captain Hanks severed his connection with the lumber interests in 1854 and became a steamboat pilot, and with this change the third division of his narrative begins. In the installment for September 24 he tells of trips between Galena and St. Paul on the steamboat "Galena," of which he became pilot in 1855, and of the typical cargo and passengers carried between these points. The value of the autobiography is enhanced by explanatory notes prepared by Captain Fred A. Bill of St. Paul, who edited the manuscript.

" St. Paul Engineer Labors Forty-two Years Improving Upper River Channel " is the title of a technical account, in the *St. Paul Pioneer Press* for June 19, of the methods used in improving conditions for river transportation between St. Louis and Minneapolis, and particularly of the participation of Mr. James D. Du Shane in this work. A portrait of Mr. Du Shane appears with the article.

The announcement that a bronze tablet to the memory of Joseph Reynolds was to be unveiled in the Reynolds Club founded by his widow at the University of Chicago, brought forth articles about the frontier promoter in the *St. Paul Pioneer Press* for May 8 and the *Minneapolis Journal* for May 29. Reynolds is commonly remembered as an important figure in upper Mississippi River transportation, the owner of the Diamond Jo Line of steamboats; but in these articles other equally important phases of his career are pictured, and he is revealed as a wheat-speculator, a railroad-builder, and a mine-owner.

Major Joseph R. Brown's " steam wagon " which was used for hauling freight at Henderson in 1860 is described, and how the Sioux Outbreak of 1862 put an end to the development of this form of transportation until the automobile truck came into general use is explained in the *Minneapolis Tribune* for April 17. By way of introduction, Brown's varied activities as a pioneer Minnesotan are enumerated. With the article is reproduced a picture of the monument erected at Henderson in honor of Major Brown. The same account, somewhat curtailed, appears in the *Minneapolis Journal* for April 10.

The Hill Roads is the title of " a short history and description of the railroads comprising the Hill system " published by Harris, Forbes and Company, a New York banking concern (New York, 1921. 20 p.). The pamphlet contains brief but useful sketches of the histories of the four railroads controlled by the Hill interests, the Northern Pacific, the Chicago, Burlington, and Quincy, the Colorado and Southern, and Mr. Hill's " personal creation, "

the Great Northern. These are followed by more general discussions of the mileage of the roads, the extent of territory which they serve, the types of goods which they transport, and their past and present financial standing. An excellent map of the "Hill Railroad System," which serves seventeen states, is included (p. 10), and numerous illustrations and charts add materially to the value of the pamphlet.

A brief article about Charles Cotter of Two Harbors, an "engineer of old wood burning days," who is said to have operated the first locomotive out of Fargo, North Dakota, on the Northern Pacific Railway, appears, with his portrait, in the *Minneapolis Tribune* for August 7.

In its *Official Year Book* for 1920 the Minnesota State Federation of Labor continues the practice of publishing contributions to the "History of the Labor Movement in Minnesota."

The feature article in the September number of the *American-Scandinavian Review* is a chronicle of the "Scandinavian Element in Congress" by Nels Hokanson. It is followed by a "Gallery of Scandinavian Congressmen," composed of twenty portraits, each of which is accompanied by a brief biographical sketch. A fourth of the men thus pictured are Minnesotans. The cover bears a portrait of Senator Knute Nelson, who, according to Mr. Hokanson, "was the first Scandinavian governor of an American state, the first representative, and the first senator."

Conditions among the Scandinavians in Minneapolis during the eighties are described in the novel *Nykommer-billeder; Jonas Olsens förste Aar i Amerika* (Pictures of Newcomer Life; Jonas Olsen's First Years in America), written by Johannes B. Wist under the pseudonym "Arnljot" (Decorah, Iowa, 1920. 152 p.). The author reveals a thorough familiarity with the Minneapolis of a generation ago and particularly with its Norwegian-born population. Against that background is sketched the story of the varied experiences of an immigrant in the transitional first years of his life in this country.

The executive committee of the Minnesota conference of the Swedish Lutheran Church has appointed the Reverend Emil Lund of Minneapolis conference historian.

The following old settlers' associations held annual meetings during the past six months: the Hennepin County Territorial Pioneers' Association at the Godfrey House, Richard Chute Square, Minneapolis, June 1; the Stearns County Old Settlers' Association at St. Cloud, June 7; the Renville County Old Settlers' Association at Sacred Heart, June 9; the Dodge County Old Settlers' Association at Kasson, June 14; and the St. Croix Valley Old Settlers' Association at Stillwater, September 21.

The number of towns sufficiently interested in the histories of their localities to reproduce their stories in pageant form is constantly increasing, and during the past summer no less than six Minnesota communities staged such productions. The history of Renville County was set forth in a pageant presented at Sacred Heart on June 16; the contrasting, though equally picturesque, figures of Alexander Faribault and Bishop Whipple were prominent in the Rice County pageant at Faribault on June 20 and 21; the tragic tale of the Indian maiden, Winona, was enacted in the opening episode of the performance presented in the city of her name on June 27, 28, and 29; the story of Otter Tail County was reviewed at Fergus Falls on July 4 and 6; the signing of the treaty of Traverse des Sioux was pictured in the most interesting episode of the pageant presented at St. Peter on August 18 and 19; and Hutchinson was the scene of the McLeod County pageant on August 25 and 26. Another pageant of decided interest to Minnesotans was that presented at Fargo on June 10 and 11, which depicted the history of the Red River Valley.

During the past six months the *St. Paul Daily News* has published in its Sunday issues a "series of little travelogs on St. Paul's neighbors," by Frances C. Boardman. Some of the articles include stories of a town's rich historic past; others simply deal with some outstanding features of a community's present aspect. All are appropriately illustrated with views of the towns

and portraits of their prominent citizens. The subjects of the articles and the dates upon which they appeared follow: April 3, Owatonna; April 10, Mankato, the "spot where 38 Indians were hanged in 1862"; April 17, "St. Peter, Minnesota's City of Governors"; April 24, Winona; May 1, Elk River and Dayton; May 8, New Ulm, a typical German-American community; May 15, Little Falls; May 22, Glencoe; May 29, Staples; June 5, Howard Lake; June 12, Northfield and its colleges; June 19, Virginia; June 26, Hibbing, the "iron ore center that is being moved"; July 3, Minneapolis; July 10, South St. Paul; July 17, Mendota and the Sibley House; July 24, Austin; July 31, Faribault; August 7, Stillwater; August 14, Red Wing; August 21, Montevideo; August 28, Rochester and the Mayo brothers; September 4, Montgomery, one of the state's Bohemian settlements; September 11, Lake City; September 18, Alexandria; and September 25, "Sauk Centre — of Main Street Fame."

With the announcement in an article in the *Minneapolis Tribune* for September 4 that the old wooden fort erected at Fond du Lac more than a century ago is being demolished, the early history of the post of the American Fur Company at this place is briefly recounted.

About seventy people attended exercises at Hastings on May 19 in commemoration of the drafting of the temperance platform of the Independent Order of Good Templars at that place in 1858. The exercises were conducted jointly by the Good Templars and the Minnesota Territorial Pioneers. They included a memorial service for William B. Reed, a member of the committee which drafted the platform, who died at Daytona, Florida, on January 30. His portrait and that of the Reverend John Quigley, another member of the committee, are published with an article about the Good Templars in the *St. Paul Pioneer Press* for May 15.

The *Wabasha County Herald* for August 4 prints an interesting communication from Captain Fred A. Bill of St. Paul concerning its predecessor, the *Waumandee Herald*, which was published at Read's Landing. Included is a copy of a letter written from

Cincinnati and Pittsburgh in March, 1857, by Joseph McMaster to his brother Thomas, who had already settled in the little Minnesota river town. Joseph had been commissioned to secure the printing press, type, and other materials needed for establishing a newspaper, and his letter tells of their purchase and his arrangements for bringing them to Read's Landing. Captain Bill continues the story, telling how the brothers issued the first number of the *Waumandee Herald* and were drowned in the Mississippi River later in the same day of May, 1857. He also presents evidence, gleaned from an item in the *Lake City Leader* of February 6, 1879, to show that at least one issue of a second paper called the *Waumandee Herald* was published in August, 1857, by Norman E. Stevens, who purchased the McMaster brothers' equipment and who later gave the paper its present name.

What is probably the most sensational case in the criminal history of the state, that of the three Younger brothers, who were captured after robbing a bank in Northfield in 1876, is recalled in the *St. Paul Daily News* for July 17. A number of extracts from newspapers of 1901, when the two surviving brothers were released from the Minnesota State Prison, are reprinted to give the story of their prison experiences and pardon, and a list of their crimes also is published.

An " Industrial Supplement " issued with the *Faribault Daily News* of May 2 is made up of brief histories of the city's various manufacturing plants, at least one of which was established as early as 1865. It is interesting to note the number of different industries of which this town, in the heart of a rich agricultural district, can boast, for it is the home not only of the usual dairies and flour mills, but of a shoe factory, two furniture factories, a truck company, and a woolen mill.

The student who is interested in frontier social conditions will find excellent material in the Honorable Samuel Lord's "Recollections of Mantorville," which have been running serially in the *Mantorville Express* since March 18. Forms of amusement, commercial conditions, industrial life, schools and churches, and

even the table manners of the people of this typical frontier community are minutely described by a resident who came to the town when an infant with his pioneer parents in 1859, only five years after the arrival of the first inhabitants, and who resided there almost continuously for twenty-one years. Of special value is a list of the early settlers of Mantorville, grouped according to the state or European country of their nativity, which forms a part of the installment published on August 5.

The *Mantorville Express* reprints in the first number of its sixty-fifth volume, published June 24, some interesting extracts from the third number of its first volume, dated July 30, 1857. In the longest item the editor describes his journey of "three years ago" from central Wisconsin to Dodge County and gives his first impressions of the "embryo town, already christened Mantorville."

The fiftieth anniversary of the founding of a settlement on the Sand Hill River in Polk County by Levi Steenerson in 1871 was celebrated by a group of Red River pioneers near Climax on June 8. A brief history of the settlement with the names of the first settlers appears in the *Minneapolis Journal* for June 1, and an account of the celebration is published in the *Polk County Leader* of Crookston for June 10.

Members of the Red River Valley Old Settlers' Association gathered at Fargo, North Dakota, on September 22, and special talks arranged by local chapters of the Daughters of the American Revolution were given in the schools of both Fargo and Moorhead on the same day in commemoration of the fact that exactly fifty years earlier the "directors of the Northern Pacific railway, meeting in New York City, honored members of their body, by naming the twin pioneer cities after W. G. Moorhead, director of the road, and W. D. Fargo, director of the Wells-Fargo express company, a branch organization of the railway." In honor of the anniversary the pioneer history of the two cities is reviewed by the Reverend E. E. Saunders in two articles pub-

lished in the *Courier-News* of Fargo on August 14 and September 18. The author dwells principally upon religious and educational beginnings in the cities. A picture of the "first church in Fargo and Moorhead" and a portrait of the Reverend Oscar H. Elmer, the "Presbyterian home missionary" who erected it, appear with the second article.

An article about the pioneer Minnesota experiences of William W. Jackman of Geneva, Ohio, who was one of the surveyors of the town site of Brainerd, appears in the *Minneapolis Journal* for July 3. It is accompanied by a portrait of Mr. Jackman.

Two interesting Sibley relics have been added recently to the collection in the Sibley House at Mendota. The first, an early oil portrait of Sibley, is the gift of Mrs. Edward B. Young of the St. Paul chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution; the second, the quaint walnut desk used by Sibley when he was president of the St. Paul Gas Light Company, was presented by Mr. John P. Crowley, the present vice president of the company. A picture of the desk with a brief description is published in the *St. Paul Pioneer Press* for May 19.

The Mendota chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution is raising funds for the purchase of the site where the treaty of Mendota was negotiated in 1851. The plan is to make a park of this spot and to mark it with a brass plate on a huge boulder.

An historical sketch of the region "About Freeborn Lake," contributed by W. H. Miller, who has resided since his youth in the vicinity of the lake, appears in the *Albert Lea Community Magazine* for April.

"Meeker County Changes I Have Noted" is the title of an article by Senator Magnus Johnson in the May number of the *Meeker County Farmer*. The author takes advantage of his long residence in the county to contrast present conditions with those he found upon his arrival from Sweden thirty years ago.

The history of the little village of Red Rock is outlined in the *Minneapolis Tribune* for May 1 in an article entitled "Ancient Shrine of Red Men is Modern Mecca for Methodists of Minnesota." The article contains a number of incorrect statements and attention is called to one of them — a reference to Little Crow as "one of the greatest of the Chippewa chiefs" — by Mr. Theodore H. Beaulieu of White Earth in a communication published in the *Tribune* for May 9.

In the *Minneapolis Journal* for July 3 are published Captain John R. Johnson's recollections of the days when Lake Minnetonka was the great Minnesota summer resort for tourists from the South and when trips on the numerous passenger boats which floated upon its waters were a favorite form of amusement for residents of the neighboring cities. A portrait of Captain Johnson as he appeared when he was in command of one of these boats, the "City of St. Louis," is reproduced with the article.

The organization and the instrument which have made the Twin Cities the musical center of the Northwest and have aroused the commendation of the entire musical world are the subjects of some interesting recent newspaper comment. An excellent sketch of the history of the Minneapolis Symphony Orchestra from its modest origin in 1903 to the present appears in the *Minneapolis Journal* for September 11. The early struggles of the organization, the forming of the Orchestral Association of Minneapolis, the gradual development which has resulted in one of the great orchestras of the country, and the inestimable value of this musical body to its home community all are touched upon. The illustrations include a picture of the orchestra, a portrait of its conductor, Mr. Emil Oberhoffer, and a map of the United States on which are indicated the cities where the orchestra has been heard. St. Paul's great musical asset, the municipal organ, and the steps by which it was acquired are described in a section of the *St. Paul Pioneer Press* for September 25. An article about one of the city's first organists, William J. Dyer, who has been identified with the musical life of St. Paul since 1870, is included.

The *St. Paul Pioneer Press* for July 24 publishes the major portion of a letter dated June 15, 1858, in which the writer, who appears to have been G. W. Magee of Waterloo, New York, recorded his impressions of St. Paul, St. Anthony, Minneapolis, and Fort Snelling. The letter was discovered recently by workmen who were renovating an old house in Waterloo, and a copy of it was sent to Mr. H. H. Bigelow of St. Paul.

"The progress of city transportation in the past fifty years" was demonstrated on May 4, when the Twin City Rapid Transit Company, to mark National Electric Railway Day, paraded an old horse car on Hennepin Avenue in Minneapolis and Wabasha Street in St. Paul. In both cities pioneers rode in the car and veteran conductors, Mr. John Prior in St. Paul and Mr. Henry Green in Minneapolis, drove it. Announcements and accounts of the parade, illustrated with pictures of the horse car and of its passengers and drivers, appear in the contemporary Twin City papers. A list of successive improvements adopted by the street railway company, which is included in some of these articles, is of special interest.

The renewed use of "trolley trailers" by the Twin City Rapid Transit Company caused the *Minneapolis Tribune* in its issue of August 7 to publish a picture, with a brief explanatory note, of a queer little trailer which was used in Minneapolis in the eighties.

On September 17, "Constitution Day," the St. Anthony Falls chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution unveiled the bronze tablets which it had agreed to place at either end of the St. Anthony Falls Bridge in Minneapolis at the time that the bridge was named (see *ante*, p. 94). The inscriptions on the tablets give an interesting resumé of the history of the falls, especially of their significance in the industrial development of Minneapolis. The tablets were presented to the city by the regent of the chapter, and were accepted by Mayor George E. Leach.

According to an article in the *Minneapolis Tribune* for July 17, "Minneapolis is the birthplace of the American Institute of

Banking," which held its annual convention in that city from July 19 to 22. The brief history of the organization in the *Tribune* includes a list of the past presidents of the Minneapolis branch.

The ups and downs of the Minneapolis police force during changing administrations and some difficult cases in the city's criminal history are described in the *Minneapolis Tribune* for May 22 in an interview with James Doyle, "who has himself been chief twice and who spent 20 years in the department as a plainclothes man." Portraits of seven chiefs of police who served the city between 1887 and 1904 appear with the article.

In an article in the *Minneapolis Journal* for August 14 Albert B. Needham, the "oldest member in point of service on the Minneapolis police force," tells about some of the experiences connected with his long period of service as a patrolman and as city jailer.

Some Minneapolis landmarks which are being demolished to make way for more modern structures are the subjects of several articles in recent issues of the *Minneapolis Journal.* Two of these, published on June 26 and 30, tell something of the past of the strange patchwork of buildings formerly occupied by the New England Furniture and Carpet Company. According to these accounts they must have been a mecca for the city's pleasure-seekers in the early eighties, for they included the Cyclorama Building, erected for the purpose of exhibiting a huge picture of the "Battle of Atlanta," and a roller-skating rink, which was used later for staging prize fights, concerts, fairs, and various other forms of entertainment. The history of the building erected by the Minnesota Loan and Trust Company in 1885 is told, the business section of Minneapolis at that time is described, and the principal concerns of the day are located in a third article in the *Journal* for July 10. "Pretentious Minneapolis Homes of Years Ago Giving Way to Modern Structures" is the title of an article published with pictures of six of these old dwellings on July 3; another, in the issue of September 15, has for its subject

the old Harrison homestead, which has been a "landmark on upper Nicollet for 61 years."

Sketches of the histories of "two more landmarks of Minneapolis" which are being razed — the old St. James Hotel, more recently known as the Miller Hotel, and the "old Wallace homestead" — appear with pictures of these structures in the *Minneapolis Tribune* for May 15.

Mr. Joseph Warren, who has been delivering mail in Minneapolis during the past thirty-five years, describes the growth of the city's postal service during that period in some reminiscences published in the *Minneapolis Tribune* for April 24.

The two concluding installments of the series of interviews with interesting Minneapolis residents which has been running in the *Minneapolis Journal* since January (see *ante*, p. 94) appear in the issues of that paper for April 3 and 10. They consist of reminiscences of James E. Clune, a veteran railroad man, and William G. Northup, president of the North Star Woolen Mills.

The *Minneapolis Tribune* for July 24 publishes an article about the cemetery established in 1855 by Martin Layman at what is now Lake Street and Cedar Avenue, Minneapolis, and from which the bodies are now being removed. The article is composed chiefly of stories about Minneapolis pioneers who were buried there.

Benjamin Backnumber presents one of the best of his stories of "St. Paul Before This" in the *St. Paul Daily News* for May 8, on the subject of the state's "Former Capitols." He gives a convenient list of the various homes of Minnesota's government, with the date when each was occupied. Another article of more than local interest is his account of the "Birth of the State Constitution," published on June 5. In other articles he deals with the first Decoration Day celebration in St. Paul, May 29; the early St. Paul hotel which was known as Moffet's Castle, July 24; the methods used by representatives of rival steamboat companies when they "hustled for passengers" at the St. Paul wharves in

the early days, April 17; and the "Grasshopper Plague," July 10. Biographical sketches of Captain Martin Scott, who is identified with the early history of Fort Snelling; Judge Aaron Goodrich; Judge Greenleaf Clark; Colonel Timothy Sheehan, who commanded at Fort Ridgley during the siege of 1862; and John Farrington, a pioneer St. Paul business man, make up the articles for April 10, May 1, August 28, and September 11 and 25. The author also recalls the local visits of two men of international fame, Robert G. Ingersoll and Cyrus Field, in articles appearing in the issues of the *News* for April 3 and July 17.

A series of articles about St. Paul, intended to acquaint the residents thereof with their city, has been running in the Monday issues of the *St. Paul Pioneer Press*. The initial article, published August 15, deals largely with "firsts" such as the arrival of the first white man, the building of the first church, the publication of the first newspaper, and the completion of the first railroad. In succeeding articles various municipal activities and improvements are taken up, the origin of each is described, and its growth and value to the city is noted. The subjects and dates of these articles follow: the gradual acquisition of property which has resulted in the St. Paul park system, August 29; the development of the educational facilities of the city, September 5; the extension of the city's water supply, September 12; the improvement of the street-lighting system, September 19; street, sewer, and bridge construction, September 26; and the evolution of the public library and the construction of its present building and of the St. Paul Auditorium, October 3.

The "Growth of St. Paul in 65 Years" is cleverly illustrated in the *St. Paul Dispatch* for October 3 by a picture of the slim city directory for 1856 beside the ponderous volume issued in 1921. Some interesting statements about the two books also are published.

In 1879, when but fourteen telephones had been installed in St. Paul, "no one complained about phone service" but all marvelled when the instruments worked at all, according to an article

in the *St. Paul Pioneer Press* for April 3. An interesting picture of the city's first telephone exchange is reconstructed for the reader by Miss Elizabeth Good, one of the four original operators, and Mr. Joseph Brown, one of the first "switchboard boys." Curious innovations which were introduced from time to time are noted and the growth of the service is briefly sketched. Portraits of Mr. Brown and Miss Good and of Mr. Charles Joplin, who has been connected with St. Paul telephone corporations for more than forty years, appear with the article.

Memories of days when the four-wheeled hack was the chief means of communication in St. Paul are revived in an article about "Butch" Gadbout, a cabman of the early days, in the *St. Paul Daily News* for July 24. A picture of an old-fashioned cab and a portrait of "Butch in his prime" accompany the article.

The history of the picturesque little church which nestles against the hillside at the junction of Pleasant Avenue and Ramsey Street in St. Paul is recounted in the *St. Paul Daily News* for August 21 by Gregory Bolt of St. Paul, a brother of the Reverend Nicholas Bolt of Lugano, Switzerland, who was the founder and first pastor of the German Presbyterian congregation for which the church was built. With the article appear a portrait of the founder and a picture of the church, which was built in 1890 and which has been recently transformed from a place of worship into a little theater and, finally, into a funeral chapel.

The announcement that St. Mary's Church is erecting a new home to replace the "oldest Catholic church building" in St. Paul is the occasion for the publication in the *St. Paul Daily News* for June 26 of an outline of the history of the building, which includes interesting accounts of the laying of its corner stone, of its dedication in 1867, and of the celebration of its golden jubilee in 1917. It is interesting to note that the sermons for the two latter occasions both were preached by Archbishop Ireland. Among the illustrations appearing with the article are a picture of the old ivy-covered church and a portrait of its first priest, the Reverend Louis E. Caillet.

What three men, Henry Hale, Greenleaf Clark, and James J. Hill, have done for the St. Paul Public Library is revealed in an article, accompanied by their portraits, in the *St. Paul Pioneer Press* for August 7. Brief sketches of the lives of the two former men precede the descriptions of their bequests; but all the space allotted to Mr. Hill is devoted to a resumé of the origin and working out of his idea for the reference library which now stands as a monument to his name.

The fiftieth anniversary of the Catholic boys' school now known as Cretin High School, which was opened in 1871 in a little stone building on Wabasha Street, St. Paul, by two members of the Institute of the Brothers of the Christian Schools, is the occasion for the publication of a history of the school, by John Fitzgerald, in the *St. Paul Daily News* for July 10. The illustrations include pictures of the original and present homes of the school and portraits of six of the seven directors who have guided its destiny during half a century.

Photographs of the members of the pioneer St. Paul musical organization which came to be known as Seibert's Band are reproduced with a brief article about the band and some of its members in the *St. Paul Daily News* for July 24. A statement in the article that this was " St. Paul's first military band " brought forth the information that it had a predecessor, a band organized by Leberich Otto. An article about this earlier organization and a portrait of its director appear in the *News* for July 31.

The Years Since '71 is the title of a booklet by Joseph G. Pyle issued by Gordon and Ferguson to commemorate the firm's fiftieth anniversary (St. Paul, 1921. 24 p.). The author sketches the growth during the half century of this great wholesale fur establishment, and he also depicts the character of Richards Gordon, the man who saw the opportunity for such a business in St. Paul and promptly siezed and made the most of it. A portrait of Mr. Gordon, pictures of St. Paul's wholesale district in 1871 and in 1921, and sketches of the original and present homes of the firm, add to the attractiveness of the booklet.

Special sections of both the *St. Paul Pioneer Press* and the *St. Paul Daily News* for April 3 are devoted to articles on the past and present of the firm of Montgomery Ward and Company. Their publication marks the completion of the new building of the great mail order concern in St. Paul.

The fiftieth anniversary of Mr. Andrew Schoch's connection with the St. Paul grocery concern which has borne his name since 1874, is the occasion for an article about his business career in the *St. Paul Pioneer Press* for June 20. With it appear portraits of Mr. Schoch and members of his family, a picture of his first store in St. Paul, and views of the present establishment.

The fiftieth anniversary of the establishment of the Mannheimer Brothers store in St. Paul furnished the occasion for articles about its history in the *St. Paul Pioneer Press* and the *St. Paul Daily News* for April 10. The articles are illustrated with portraits of the founders of the concern, Louis Goodkind, his son, Benjamin L. Goodkind, and Jacob Mannheimer, and of members of their families who have since entered the business.

Little Bohemia, a tiny fishing hamlet situated on the Mississippi River flats on the outskirts of St. Paul, is described in an article in the *St. Paul Daily News* for September 18. The group of queer little huts and their inhabitants, among whom peasant customs of the Old World still prevail, are depicted in both words and pictures.

The village of Little Canada, a reminder that very early Minnesota attracted immigrants from the north, and the little group of aged French-Canadians who still inhabit it are described in the *Minneapolis Tribune* for July 17. The village is situated on Lake Gervais, just north of St. Paul.

Memories of logging days on the St. Croix are revived in an article by Jay W. Ludden in the *St. Paul Pioneer Press* for April 10 about Prescott, the sleepy little Wisconsin village situated at the junction of the Mississippi and St. Croix rivers, which once

was a prosperous lumbering town. The article is occasioned by the making of plans for a bridge across the Mississippi River at this point. The illustrations include a picture of the ferry now in use and several views of the town.

An account of the early settlers and settlements of Pembina County, North Dakota, by Jonas Hall, a pioneer of the region, is published in the *St. Paul Pioneer Press* for July 3. Of special interest to Minnesotans is the story of how James Wickes Taylor of St. Paul suggested the name for Walhalla while stopping there in the course of a trip from his home to Winnipeg, where he was United States consul.

On June 25, the forty-fifth anniversary of the massacre of General George A. Custer and his men, the battle of the Little Big Horn was reënacted by members of the American Legion and the United States Army and Crow Indians on the site of the original conflict. Memories of General Custer and his last battle are revived also in articles in two local newspapers. In the *Minneapolis Tribune* for June 19 the military operations which preceded the battle are described and the story of the massacre is outlined. The second article, in the *Minneapolis Journal* for June 26, is based upon information supplied by Mrs. Edward Pennington of Minneapolis, whose brother, Lieutenant James S. Sturgis, was killed in the battle. She expresses the opinion that Custer "was guilty of a military blunder" and that he fought in the hope of gaining personal glory. Extensive quotations from contemporary newspapers are presented in support of this contention. Mrs. Pennington is the possessor of large collections of newspaper clippings referring to the battle and of photographs of people and objects connected with it. Some of the latter are reproduced with the article.

According to an article in the *Minneapolis Journal* for August 28 another "sole survivor" of the Custer Massacre has been discovered in the person of J. O. Spencer, a Faribault pioneer, who "exhibits a worn and tattered diary" to prove his claim.

The thrilling experiences of a loyalist, Dr. John Schultz, during the Riel rebellion in Canada in December, 1869, are recounted in the *Manitoba Free Press* for May 14 and 21 in an article in two installments headed "A Doctor Under a Load of Hay." The story of the doctor's flight from the prison at Fort Garry, where he had been confined by Louis Riel, to Fort Alexander and Duluth, is here told by James Monkman, the driver of the sleigh in which Dr. Schultz escaped.

The Men of the Hudson's Bay Company, by N. M. W. J. McKenzie (Fort William, Ontario, 1921. 214 p.), is a record of the author's experiences and observations in the service of the company from 1876 to 1916.

War History Activities

The Minnesota War Records Commission has temporarily curtailed its activities in the field of World War history, to which it was originally assigned, and is now engaged primarily in the preparation of a history of Minnesota in the Spanish-American War and the Phillipine Insurrection, publication of which, under the law as it now stands, is to antedate the appearance of projected volumes relating to the later conflict. Besides a general account of local events and conditions relating to or affected by the war with Spain, the book will contain histories and rosters of the four volunteer regiments furnished by the state at that time, together with records of Minnesotans who entered other units or branches of the service. An abundance of material relating to the Minnesota regiments, including muster rolls, pay rolls, and regimental reports, is available in the office of the adjutant general of the state, but that office has no records of scattering enlistments, of which it is estimated that there were several hundred at least. Such records must be obtained from the war and navy departments, and the secretary of the commission has been to Washington and has made arrangements there whereby it is hoped the desired information may be secured. For the narrative portion of the history, the commission is assembling material from government publications, state archives, private collections, and

newspaper files — all in the library of the Minnesota Historical Society.

The commission continues to receive material relating to activities of the World War period. The state auditor has turned over all records of the registration of aliens and their property holdings, which was conducted by the auditor under the direction of the Minnesota Commission of Public Safety in February, 1918. These records include printed lists of the names of registrants, arranged according to precinct and ward or township and county, and a file, similarly arranged, of the registrants' sworn declarations. From Mrs. Joseph S. Gaylord of Winona, state historian of the Daughters of the American Revolution, the commission has received a collection of reports of the war work done by the several chapters of that organization and lists of the names with the war records of members or their relatives who were in the service.

The Hennepin County War Records Committee is specializing in the compilation of records of the services of individuals during the World War, though attention is also given to the history of local war organizations. The committee has transcribed, from official records in the office of the state commission, individual statements of the services of some twenty-four thousand Hennepin County soldiers, sailors, and marines, and has recently launched an aggressive campaign to secure the names and records of nurses and welfare workers. Its work in the compilation of records of local men and women who lost their lives in the service achieved a special significance in connection with the ceremony at the dedication of the Victory Memorial Driveway in Minneapolis on June 11, on which occasion trees, individually marked with the names of "Gold Stars," were planted in commemoration of the county's war dead. The names used in marking these memorial trees were obtained from a list compiled by the war records committee, which in this and other ways coöperated with the general committee in charge of the ceremony. Among the many methods used to make this list as complete and accurate as possible was the publication of provisional lists, first in the *Minneapolis Journal*

for November 14, 1920, and finally in a pamphlet entitled *Gold Stars of Minneapolis and Hennepin County,* published by the committee on May 21, 1921. The latter list, with corrections and additions which brought the total to five hundred and fifty-five names, was embodied, together with other matter pertinent to the occasion, in a souvenir program issued by the general committee after the event under the title *World War Gold Star Roll of Hennepin County* (36 p.).

Progress in all lines of war records work is reported by the St. Louis County branch of the commission. The county committee at its headquarters in Duluth is checking its records of some ten thousand local service men against lists obtained from the state commission, the bonus board, and local organizations and institutions. Special efforts are being made to complete the county Gold Star Roll, which now includes upwards of three hundred names, and to extend the committee's collection of photographs, war letters, and other personal records. The canvass of local war agencies continues — the committee recently received from the Duluth chapter of the American Red Cross a large collection of samples of items of all sorts furnished by the Red Cross for the comfort of service men. Newspaper files of the war period have been carefully searched, and a beginning has been made in the writing of a war history of the county, with the possibility of publication in view. Recent visits made by the chairman, the Honorable William E. Culkin, to some of the range towns have contributed to a county-wide interest in the work.

Publication of the Ramsey County committee's projected history of St. Paul and Ramsey County in the World War is delayed pending completion of the roster and the receipt of promised reports and material on the history of various local war organizations. The roster, compiled originally from the service men's own written statements and now including some thirteen thousand names, is being verified and extended by reference to official records on file in the office of the state commission. Recent contributions of material for the historical narrative include a report of the work of the St. Paul post office in connection with the sale

of war savings stamps and liberty bonds, written by Mr. Joseph Brown, assistant postmaster. The committee looks forward to the completion of the work being done by Mrs. Charles N. Akers of St. Paul, a volunteer assistant who is gathering detailed information as to the war service of individuals and organizations of the Hamline district.

The Chisago County War History Committee, organized under the direction of the war records commission in 1919 by the Honorable Victor L. Johnson of Center City, published in March, 1920, a history of *Chisago County, Minnesota, in the World War,* edited by Mr. Ansgar L. Almen of Lindstrom (303 p. Illustrations), a copy of which has only recently come to hand. Publication of the history was undertaken and carried through as a public enterprise, with no thought of profit. In appearance and, with certain exceptions, in subject matter, the volume is of the usual souvenir type, but the historical narrative, portions of which were written by Mr. Johnson, Mr. Almen, Mr. M. S. Norelius, and Dr. John Sander, is of unusual quality and interest, and a wholly unique feature is added by the inclusion of an extended series of documents and blank forms, printed in full, relating to general and local aspects of the work of the food administration.

Recent acquisitions of county war histories of the strictly conventional type, produced by private enterprise include: *Dakota County in the World War* (Red Wing, Red Wing Printing Company, September, 1919. 160 p. Illustrations); *Jackson County, Minnesota, in the World War* (Lakefield, Neulen and Lueneburg, 1921. 144 p. Illustrations); and *Otter Tail County, Minnesota, in the World War,* by Victor George Lundeen (Fergus Falls, Lundeen Publishing Company, 1919. 288 p. Illustrations).

Jefferson County in the World War, compiled by George W. Reeves (Watertown, New York, 1920. 280 p. Maps, diagrams, illustrations), a volume relating to a New York community, is full of suggestions for those concerned with the preparation of county war histories. The almost entire absence of portraits of individuals and the preëminence given to the narrative history

of community and group activities are two of the distinguishing features of the book.

An account of the origin and growth of a great collection of World War history material, consisting primarily of publications and printed matter of every conceivable variety gathered from all quarters of the globe and especially from the leading belligerent countries, is given in a pamphlet entitled *The Hoover War Collection at Stanford University, California: A Report and an Analysis,* by E. D. Adams (Stanford University Press. 82 p.). It need hardly be added that the collection bears the name of Herbert Hoover, an alumnus and trustee of Stanford University and donor of the funds which made this vast undertaking possible.

The Indiana Historical Commission has brought about the compilation of a "county war history" for most of the counties of the state, and a law enacted by the legislature at its last session makes it likely that many of these will be printed. By this law county commissioners are authorized to appropriate a thousand dollars for the purpose.

A pamphlet entitled *California in the War: War Addresses, Proclamations, and Patriotic Messages of Governor William D. Stephens* (Sacramento, 1921. 90 p.), has been issued by the war history department of the California Historical Survey Commission. The Virginia War History Commission has published as supplements to the *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* for January, April, July, and October, 1921, calendars of material in the state war records collection, including local war history material collected in the several counties and cities of Virginia, material relating to the history of military organizations, and the proclamations, addresses, and messages of the war governors of that state.

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SOME ASPECTS OF MID-WEST AMERICA[1]

I should like to make use of the opportunity afforded me this evening to present to the members of the Minnesota Historical Society a phase of the larger history of our part of America. A new word, " ethno-geography, " just coming into use among historians, best describes the aspect of the subject which I want to stress in my discussion — the inter-relation of man and geography. By Mid-west America I mean all that part of North America lying east of the Rocky Mountains and west of Hudson Bay, the Great Lakes, and the Appalachian Mountains. You will notice that in defining the region to be discussed I have added a large part of British North America to a corresponding portion of the United States. The justification for this lies in the fact that by history and geography all the inhabitants of the region are united and have practically the same problems in government and in their social and economic life.

From the point of view of physiography, Mid-west America consists of a vast lowland having three drainage systems — the southern, discharging its waters into the Gulf of Mexico; the central, including such rivers as the Red River of the North, the Saskatchewan, and the Churchill, discharging its waters into Hudson Bay; and the northern, of which the Mackenzie is the principal river, discharging its waters into the Arctic Ocean. The contour of this great lowland was produced by ice action during the two glacial epochs in the geological history of the region. It is for the most part unforested, probably never having reached the tree-bearing stage, except along the lakes and river courses and on the slopes of the mountains. The soil is of unusual fertility and the moisture sufficient for agriculture except in the western part. As a whole it is still

[1] An address read at the annual meeting of the Minnesota Historical Society, St. Paul, January 9, 1922.

the great fur and big game region of North America. The earliest inhabitants may be included in three or four large families, two of whom held most of the territory in early times. The climate is continental, that is, one of extremes, modified on the east and south by the presence of large bodies of water and on the west by the warm winds from the Pacific.

The history of the region corresponds with its geography; it has the same sweep and breadth; it is amply continental, never petty or sectional. The great interior of North America was for nearly two centuries after Columbus almost unknown to Spanish, French, and English explorers. The bare extent of this vast region was in itself a bar to exploration and trade and its lack of precious metals kept the Spanish from occupying it during this period. It was due to the enterprise and daring of the French explorers who followed Champlain's statesmanly initiative and no less to the devotion of the missionaries who traversed these wilds, that the great interior wilderness was added to the possessions of France. To the remarkable exploits of the intrepid Radisson in the region of Hudson Bay we owe the beginnings of the Hudson's Bay Company, which would have been a French fur-trading company but for the blindness of Louis XIV. La Salle added the valleys of the Ohio and the Mississippi. La Vérendrye, latest of these empire-builders, blocked out his fur-trade region so as to cut directly athwart the great English grant to the Hudson's Bay Company and the grant by France to La Salle and his successors. The story of the exploits of these three Frenchmen and of those who rounded out their work reads like a romance, for the chivalry and pride of the best French traditions fired the hearts of these daring men and kept their achievements from sinking to the level of mere fur-trading operations. Thus in less than fifty years there were added to the maps of the period the main features of the interior of North America. If the French government had matched the heroism and enterprise of these wilderness workers with a policy at all in keeping with the unbounded opportunity they had created for France, the sub-

sequent course of events in American history would have been entirely different.

During the eighteenth century the history of North America is concerned mainly with the contest of Spain, France, and England for possession of the middle portion of the continent. The Spanish held the southwest natives firmly in hand by a combination of forts and missions; the French were still profiting by the ancient treaty of Champlain with the great Algonquin family of Indian tribes in the Great Lakes region and farther west; the English with their Iroquois alliance of 1684 were in a position actively to compete with the French for possession of the Ohio Valley.

The Muskhogean tribe of Indians was located in that small area north of the Gulf of Mexico which lies in the angle between the Ohio and Mississippi rivers and is bounded on the east by the Alleghany Mountains. Here they had permanent homes and a fixed village life; they cultivated fields of corn and tobacco and had a fairly well-developed tribal government. They controlled many of the fur-trade routes between the ocean and the interior and their friendship was valuable to all those who sought to win or to maintain a foothold upon the lower Ohio or the Mississippi. It is possible now to trace out the main lines of the exceedingly complex web of intrigue that enmeshed this group of Indian tribes. The Spanish influence, centering at Mobile and Pensacola, was the oldest, and for a long time it dominated the confederacy. The French at New Orleans, however, needed some Indian alliance for the defense of their eastern flank, and they soon had won over one of the tribes by well-planned diplomacy. The English from the Carolina settlements, last of all, found it necessary to cement the friendship of the tribe nearest them and controlling the mountain passes, and partly by force and partly by presents they built up a working alliance. When the United States, as a new nation, entered this western field, she swept away the whole fabric of alliances and finally banished the remnants of the tribes to a reservation across the Mississippi, in spite of

her own treaties and agreements and in the face of at least one supreme court decision.

On the southwest, France and Spain were competing strenuously for Texas and the adjoining territory. The struggle between France and England for the upper Ohio Valley, which ended in 1763, is usually referred to as the intercolonial wars. Pontiac, an Indian statesman of remarkable talent, performed the unusual feat of welding together all the western tribes that had been French allies in a last desperate effort to drive out the English. The year's war associated with his name is unique among Indian wars in the number of tribes involved and the immense area represented by the forces he was able to assemble under his single command.

The Revolutionary War was saved from being a purely local and sectional contest along the Atlantic seaboard by one considerable American offensive, the daring and successful exploit of George Rogers Clark. By this stroke the hardy frontiersmen of the Alleghany region made their contribution to the war in the region they looked upon as peculiarly their own. Their hopes for a great interior expansion were fully realized in the treaty of 1783. From a territorial point of view we were never again in serious hazard of losing our hold on the interior of North America, upon which, very obviously, depended our future national greatness.

Though in full possession of the Louisiana territory for nearly a century, France had not been able to measure up to the opportunity for a colonial empire far outranking anything England had yet developed. Up to the middle of the eighteenth century the Spanish had obtained but a vague idea of the extent and resources of Louisiana. Spain's interest was focused upon the lands bordering on the Gulf of Mexico such as Florida and Texas, which, because of their location, could be developed into a means of protection for her treasure fleet and the commerce she carried on with her possessions in the New World. Even when put in possession of this territory in 1763, she saw its value principally in the control of the gulf which

New Orleans gave her, though incidentally she was interested in developing the fur trade centering at the frontier post of St. Louis. It was this indifference to her vital territorial interests in America as well as her European preoccupation that smoothed the way for us in 1803, when we made our first essay at rounding out our Mid-west possessions in America. Of all the leading Americans of his time, Jefferson alone had sufficient vision to make full use of the unparalleled opportunity that had come to him as a result of the breakdown of Napoleon's remarkable scheme for colonial empire. Not only did he add a very large slice of the continent to our possessions in spite of the futile objections of the narrow-minded partisans of seaboard supremacy, but he planned and carried out the exploring expeditions of Pike and of Lewis and Clark. We possess in their reports an historical classic, embodying the first scientific survey of a region hitherto known only to the fur-trader.

But fortune was soon again to favor us. The establishment of the independence of Texas from Mexico in 1836 precipitated upon us another momentous decision complicated by the sinister issue of slavery extension. The national momentum acquired by the possession of the Louisiana territory carried us irresistibly to the Pacific coast in spite of Russia, England, and Mexico. Meanwhile the astute leaders of our slave-holding aristocracy understood their aspect of the case sufficiently to capitalize the impulse for national expansion and secure a valuable slave territory in the new state of Texas.

The rounding out of our Mid-west possessions by the Mexican War antedates by a generation a similar process going on north of us in British America. The first exploration of the extensive region beyond the valleys of the Saskatchewan and Churchill rivers in the Mackenzie River Valley was made between 1789 and 1795 by Alexander Mackenzie. The report of his explorations published in 1801 was the first account of the soil, climate, and populations of the northern portion of Mid-west America in these river valleys. Fired by this report

of the vast level tracts of fertile land in the interior of the continent, Lork Selkirk in 1811 planted the first colony in the valley of the Red River, where the city of Winnipeg now stands. Unfortunately for the success of the colony it was planned as a mere adjunct to the fur-trading operations of the Hudson's Bay Company and this brought the settlers into hostile contact with the rival fur-trade corporation, the North-west Company. The union of the rival companies in 1821 did not set in motion true colonizing activity in these regions of prairie and river valley. While to the south in the United States wave after wave of population, native and foreign, was sweeping over a similar area, here in the northern wilderness conditions were still undisturbed. The imperial sway of the Hudson's Bay Company, undisputed master of the greatest fur-producing area in the world, served to keep all colonizing enterprises weak and entirely subservient to its interests alone. The solid wealth of the company, its cohorts of trading chiefs, trappers, hunters, and canoemen, the accumulated experience of generations of fur-taking, the mastery of woodcraft, and the art of dealing with savages — these all were brought to bear upon the problem of closing and barring the great wilderness to all but the servants of the company. The geography of the region favored this policy. The great river systems drained into the inhospitable water of Hudson Bay where the company reigned supreme. Immigration could not flow freely from the East on account of the almost impenetrable wilderness barrier that divided the provinces of Quebec and Ontario from this western continental plain. To reach this region there were but two Canadian routes and these were long and toilsome, taxing even the hardy trappers and hunters who were accustomed to them. Consequently the southern part of the great interior far outstripped the northern in the rate of its growth. Even the immigrants who came to Quebec and Ontario were not satisfied with the land outlook and crossed into the United States to swell the stream of settlers that was sweeping westward over the prairie regions like a tidal wave.

In the United States the arrangement of the important rivers tributary to the Mississippi was in every respect advantageous to settlement. Furthermore, the discovery of the precious metals, first in California, then in Idaho and Montana, and lastly in Colorado and Nevada, brought thousands of settlers hurrying over the intervening unoccupied spaces. The building of the transcontinental railroads, from 1853, when the first all-rail connection between Chicago and the Atlantic seaboard was completed, finished the subjugation of this portion of Mid-west America. The Indians were thrust off the land by the destruction of their great natural food supply, the buffalo herds, and by a series of sharp conflicts with the white settlers. The Homestead Act of 1862, exactly adapted to the rapid settlement of the wide and fertile areas of the United States, hastened the process till nearly every available acre was occupied. The reaction of this rapid conquest of the soil upon the relatively unoccupied lands to the north furnishes a striking illustration of the unity of the whole great continental area. From earliest times the traders of the Red River Valley had sent their hunters across the line into the United States to hunt the buffalo for robes and pemmican, especially for the latter which was used at the trading posts of the Hudson's Bay Company. These annual buffalo hunts brought hundreds of natives and half-breeds into contact with the fringe of settlement in the United States. Trade with the frontier post of St. Paul or Fort Snelling was soon developed. White traders from farther south began to filter northward. The oppressive regulations of the Hudson's Bay Company came to be understood for the tyranny they really represented. The upshot of this Yankee invasion was that the old monopoly of the company was broken and free trade with the United States was demanded and secured. Ideas of government follow trade routes and the Canadians got more than trade goods from our side of the line. The demand of western Canada for a share in the national government of that British North America union created in 1867 led to other phases of national

progress. The first transcontinental railroad from Montreal to Vancouver was completed in 1886. A flood of new settlers followed its progress westward; they came from Europe and they crossed over from the United States. The northern part of the great interior plain has been catching up with us ever since by the use of the same machinery of transportation familiar to us, the railway and the ocean liner.

The Civil War played its part in the making of Mid-west America. Slavery in the United States grew rapidly up to a certain point and thereafter fought a losing defensive battle until it was extinguished in a civil war. The Middle West played the leading role in this conflict. The admission of a western state, Missouri, precipitated the first controversy. The admission of another, Texas, forced the contest out of Congress into a presidential election where the popular will could pass upon it. The southern leaders were able to carry slavery on for a time by associating it with national expansion, but such tactics were at best futile. Again, a Westerner from Illinois championed squatter sovereignty; and another and greater Westerner from the same state shattered this theory, showing the whole nation by simple demonstration and irresistible logic why slavery must stop growing and thus disappear forever. Against the decision of the nation to entrust to this man the task of working out a solution of the question, the South appealed to arms. Two Westerners, Grant and Sherman, planned and executed the mighty strokes that ended the life of the Confederacy. Two out of three of their campaigns were launched in western territory — the opening of the Mississippi River and Sherman's march to the sea. Mid-west America solved the problem which the combined wisdom of the original thirteen states had been unable to solve. We were in 1865 a nation truly united by the potent force of social and political gravitation inherent in the states of the Middle West.

The interior part of Canada came to her own by civil war as truly as did our own Middle West. The establishment of the

British North America confederation in 1867 brought together Ontario and Quebec and the maritime provinces of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick. The interior regions, however, were but recently released from the domination of the Hudson's Bay Company and they were hardly yet an integral part of the new nation. The half-breed revolt of 1870–71 brought the pressing need of real government home to the new state and the annexation sentiment favoring the United States acted as a powerful stimulus to unity. The province of Manitoba became for the new Canadian state what the trans-Alleghany territory was to our nation in 1783 — the first stepping-stone toward the conquest of the interior. A transcontinental railroad was planned to tap the vast forest and mineral resources of the West and to develop the agricultural wealth of the first of the prairie provinces. The more formidable Riel rebellion of 1885 finished the nationalizing process of 1871. The extraordinary resources of the provinces of Saskatchewan and Alberta were made known during the troubled period of military occupation and readjustment. Public attention was focused upon these areas hitherto regarded as merely wilderness. The process of national assimilation of Mid-west Canada was thus fairly launched.

This brief historical review of the continental area in middle North America reveals several facts of fundamental importance in our national life and in the national evolution of the people to the north of us. It is clear, in the first place, in our own history that sectionalism and narrowness break down where the constituencies of the Middle West begin to have an effect on the course of elections. Andrew Jackson, the first president to come from this part of the country, gave the initial impulse toward a real democracy in election and legislation, and he also established for the first time a working basis for that fundamental tenet of democracy, responsibility of appointive officeholders to the national constituency. Furthermore, that long-lived fallacy, constitutional nullification, was dealt a fatal blow by this clear-thinking man of the Mid-west

when he declared this doctrine to be simple treason if put into action. It was left for Abraham Lincoln, a man still more typical of this great national interior, to strike down the last manifestation of the original disunion theory and to proclaim freedom and union as the true basis of our greatness.

Again, the interior of this continent has furnished the first real opportunity for the amalgamation of European and American people under extremely favorable conditions and on a scale ample enough to bring forth the highest type of citizens that has yet appeared on the continent. Through difficulties and dangers, national and international, in spite of wars, panics, and sectional jealousies, the varied population of this most typical twentieth-century region has won its right to take part in all the civic enterprises that belong to community and national life. No population can long depend on a single industry if it is to maintain its leadership; the natural resources of Mid-west America are so wonderfully varied and rich that on the material side of civilization there is nothing more to be desired. Holland has made transportation her basis of development, England depends upon her factory system, Russia upon agriculture. But in the almost untouched resources of Mid-west America there are potentialities for each of these groups of industries in addition to the subsidiary one of mining. For the production of such staples as cereals and cotton the region is without a rival in actual as well as possible wealth. For manufacturing a relatively cheap and abundant power is a prerequisite. In that respect no part of America is so abundantly equipped. Water power is available from the four major rivers and their almost countless tributaries, and water power in the form of electricity may be transferred easily to great distances. On the eastern slope of the Rocky Mountains lies a bed of coal sufficient to supply the continent with power at its present rate of consumption during many thousands of years. When the mines of the Appalachians are exhausted and the industries dependent upon them have migrated elsewhere, the lignite beds of the Rocky Mountain foot-

hills will still be in their first stages of development. The United States and Canada both are conducting researches into the field of the commercial production of lignite briquettes as a substitute for anthracite for heat and power. Already the process has been nearly perfected and the by-products have proved to be an exceedingly profitable part of the output. Oil and gas are abundant from Lake Athabasca to Texas, to say nothing of the oil by-products in a dozen forms which are produced in the briquetting process. There is no lack of iron, copper, nickel, and the host of other useful metals which recently have become a vital part of our industrial life. These and the large timber resources yet available make it possible to carry on the manufacture of every sort of machinery. The presence of extensive clay and cement beds of the finest quality anywhere to be found will give to the future manufacturing industry of this region a variety as well as a value beyond all estimate. Mid-west America is destined to be in the not distant future the great industrial region on this side of the Atlantic.

Moreover, its transportation possibilities are fully equal to its industrial outlook. The projected deep water-way through the Great Lakes will transform the lake cities of Canada and the United States into ocean ports. The construction of the Panama Canal has already affected our attitude toward interior water transportation on our great river systems. Canal building and the deepening and straightening of rivers has already begun in the Middle West. We have hardly used the wonderful interior system of water courses to be found here, but any one of the European peoples would long ago have linked them in as a vital part of its transportation system. The fact is that we have been in such blind haste in our subjection of the continent that we have literally wasted our substance in a riot of extravagance. Our transportation, freight and passenger, has been carried on mainly by the railways at an absolute sacrifice of ninety-five per cent of all the fuel used. What criminal negligence it represents to depend on a system of transporta-

tion that enables us to utilize only five per cent of all the coal consumed in carrying our freight back and forth from ocean to ocean! During the World War the congestion of freight on the lines into New York Harbor was so great that the government was put in charge of the entire system so as to make our aid more effective for our hard-pressed allies. This needless congestion at a single Atlantic port and this blind waste of our magnificent coal beds must be stopped if we are to continue our national development. In Mid-west America we have an opportunity to develop a more rational system of intercommunication. We have ample water-ways that can be made to carry all slow-moving freight and relieve the congestion on our overworked railways. The Gulf of Mexico and the Gulf of St. Lawrence ultimately will be utilized to break the wasteful monopoly of New York Harbor. Not for nothing have the producers of wealth in this great area been studying the problems of coöperative production and marketing. Already have the farmers of western Canada worked out their problem with some measure of success. One of our great railway systems has successfully applied electricity in the transportation of freight across the Rocky Mountains. There are abundant indications that the population of Mid-west America will match its development of a great industrial system with the creation of a system of transportation at once adequate, economical, and capable of an indefinite expansion, which will enable it to meet every demand future growth may make upon it.

It is not difficult to conclude from this brief survey of the topography and resources of the region under discussion that there are present all the material elements of strength and unity. A much more important consideration to be taken into account lies beyond the range of the purely material. Have the populations included in our discussion shown capacity for civic betterment? Have they provided the means for intellectual and moral development? What is their outlook and what have they accomplished? While it is much more difficult

to assemble facts and to compile statistics dealing with these somewhat intangible elements in civilization, a few salient features are clear. This region has come to be the home of one of the most typical products of American educational evolution, the state university. Nowhere in the realm of education can be found so many and such large institutions of this class. The state university is in many ways a product of the Middle West. Its basic element is still the old Puritan conception, first developed in New England, that public education is necessary for the perpetuity of good government. The migration westward of the population of the seaboard states carried the educational ideals of that great generation into a region where there was developing a new conception of the function of the state. The small privately endowed colleges of the East took root here as elsewhere but they were soon outgrown and replaced by another type of institution more in keeping with the community it was to serve. The founders of these western commonwealths had vision and practical good sense. Without the means to provide for higher education in their own time, they enacted legislation setting aside sufficient public land for the future support of their own state universities.

The evolution of our western state universities is a most interesting illustration of the widening conception of the scope of state and national government. In the raw, undeveloped territories in the West everything was done by the national government — Indian wars were fought, reservations laid out, lands surveyed, local governments established, roads and canals begun. This nationalistic policy, which Calhoun first definitely championed in Congress, brought home to the populations in these territories the possibilities of governmental functions. The state constitutional conventions followed the lead of the men who had grown up under this paternalistic régime. Constitutions were adopted and state governments provided for in full harmony with this theory of the state. Education was for the voter, be he rail-splitter or banker's son; the democracy

of the district school was to reach up to the apex of the public school system. Furthermore the state must be interested in giving particular kinds of education to those who were to specialize. Hence to the original college of letters and arts were added colleges of medicine, of engineering, of law, of music, of commerce, and of agriculture. On the campus of any such state university are to be found representatives of all nationalities mingled in the Middle West, meeting on the basis of a common democracy for the purpose of securing such an education at state expense as will enable them to serve their respective communities more efficiently. All the industries and professions are represented in the training given to citizens at the state university. Here are now being trained the experts who are to develop in Mid-west America her industries, who are to govern her cities and work out her municipal problems, who are to mold public opinion and give it permanent form in wise legislation.

We have by no means a monopoly of such state universities in the United States. Just to the north of us in the three prairie provinces of Canada are the beginnings of universities that have had their foundations laid like ours in the conception of public service and democracy. These universities are generously provided for and their faculties represent, in all the lines of scholarship and research, the highest type of university men in America. When these provinces have become industrial by the development of their iron and coal resources and when they contain the population of our own Middle West, their universities will stand easily at the forefront of the great, influential, state-controlled, educational agencies of that part of the continent.

State training for national and state leadership, community responsibility for every property owner and every officeholder, and an all-embracing democracy in every public function of the state or community — these are the civic and social ideals of the populations living in Mid-west America. That the boundary line now dividing us to the north and south will not

prevent united action in the future is certain. With resources and area sufficient for ten times the present population we will be compelled to solve common problems as they relate to the well-being of both continents and of states beyond the oceans. Such questions as the integrity of China, Japanese expansion, foreign immigration, disarmament, and the payment of indemnities are troubling the great powers a good deal just at this time. They will not all be solved when the population of the Middle West comes of age. That we shall bring to the age-old problems the fresh vision of youth and an unmarred faith in humanity is to be expected from the generous breadth of our sympathies and the wide scope of our experience. We shall not waste our resources in preparing for wars or in killing our neighbors, for we have lived too long in amicable association for anything so foolish. We are not cursed by aristocracies or kings. With our untouched wealth and the protection from invasion afforded by wide oceans and other natural barriers, we can help to quiet the nerves of those peoples less favorably situated, who have memories or traditions of wars and devastations to handicap them.

It is not too much to say that our nation has just passed a milestone in its history which has determined in a major way its course for the next generation at least. The war with Germany was but yesterday and we have hardly drawn breath since its termination. But in spite of that we have traveled very far since the armistice, farther, indeed, than we have gone in many a half century previously. We have made serious and far-reaching decisions since the beginning of the Great War. Wrenched out of a long-standing peace policy to share with Europe the horrors of war, we have been called upon to play an exceedingly important international rôle with rather inadequate preparation and upon the very shortest possible notice. This has made it necessary for us to set our house in order and to plan some fundamental reforms. When we complete this reform program we shall be a different people in many fundamental respects, our civic and economic life will have

passed through changes of which our fathers had no conception. If we are to take up the task of world leadership in the near future we need not fear for men to fill the places of responsibility. In Mid-west America is to be found today more of that old-fashioned but still indispensable stock, the Anglo-Saxon, than anywhere else in the world. We may confidently predict that the solution of the problem of world recovery from the shock of war will be the product of the statesmanlike coöperation of the peoples in that particular part of Canada and the United States which we have already described. Here above all other places in the continent are to be found the enlightened and fearless constituencies whose support will be the most important factor in carrying out the vital measures that are to restore society to its normal condition.

The plain and simple utterances of the Monroe Doctrine fell upon the ears of an astonished clique of militarists at a time when all the world seemed to be theirs to trample upon and devastate. It was the mandate of a free people announcing the end of Old World dominance and the appearance of the day-star of hope above the western horizon. Some such clear and free note as this is being listened for anxiously by the new little countries of Europe and by the battle-torn nations who have lost their power to will and to do as they have been accustomed in the past. The time is not far distant when the people of Mid-west America will speak out in the full consciousness of strength and purpose to serve, and their utterances, like their deeds, will express the ample breadth of their well-matured statesmanship and the vision and the uplift of their own generous democracy.

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MISSISSIPPI VALLEY PROBLEMS AND THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION[1]

Think of the West and the Revolution and what name or event occurs to your mind? A mental test, you ask? Well, yes, something like that. Your answer, without doubt, is "George Rogers Clark and the conquest of Kaskaskia." That name and that event have been so heralded by history, idealized in novels, and sung in metrical measure, that almost everybody with a pretence to culture would blush for ignorance of the outstanding facts or fancies connected with them. So dramatic was Clark's expedition, and so seemingly momentous, that even the eastern historians who know little or nothing concerning the West make room forcibly for a brief account of it between the stories of Valley Forge and the southern campaigns, whereas western historians in their enthusiasm trace to the success of Clark most of the benefits accruing to us from the Revolutionary War.

It would not be surprising, therefore, if many of you upon reading or hearing the title of my paper have prepared yourselves for the arousing of your imaginations with an impassioned and rhetorical review of the events connected with the occupation of the Illinois country by the Virginians during the most romantic period of American history. I am sorry to disappoint you. Although I have been guilty of adding many printed pages to the bulky volume of Clark literature, I have decided not to increase its size today. The names Clark and Kaskaskia may have raised intriguing images in your minds, but they must function like the announcement of a future picture attraction at the movies; for no sooner have your eyes fastened upon the advertisement than you are compelled to let the reel roll on to the movie of the day.

[1] Read at the annual meeting of the Minnesota Historical Society, St. Paul, January 9, 1922.

I fear that the movie which I am about to produce will prove about as exciting and hair raising as a scenario of that popular work of fiction entitled *The Education of Henry Adams.* Still I will beg you not to be too doleful over this billboard announcement, for, although I shall not depict Clark and his officers tripping a minuet with the olive-skinned beauties of Kaskaskia, I promise to introduce some close-ups of painted Indians, buck-skin clad pioneers, land-speculators, and muddling empire-builders. It is not exactly a wild west show which I am promising you, but it is a jamboree with some jazz.

The situation in the Mississippi Valley before and during the Revolutionary War was not so simple as usually described by historians, nor were the issues raised so trivial. In fact the situation was inextricably complex and the issues most vital for the future welfare of the new state that was in the making. In the short time at my disposal, however, I can do no more than present to you an outline of the most significant complexities of the western conditions, and I must limit myself in general to the period preceding the outbreak of the war.

By the treaty of peace in 1763 which brought to an end the French and Indian War, the British Empire was acknowledged to extend westward to the Mississippi River; and from France there was further received Canada and from Spain, Florida, or, since this term is today more limited in its territorial significance, the gulf coast. To the politicians at Westminster this newly acquired territory presented for the next eleven years a most perplexing problem, and whenever they soberly and seriously discussed the question of the American colonies, the vital phase to them was not the disturbances of the "madding crowd" of Boston and New York but the development of this vast transmontane region, where dwelt the American Indians but into which the white men were inexorably pressing in increasing numbers with a consequent disturbance of the equilibrium. American historians have fastened their eyes so attentively on the popular outbursts of the East over the stamp tax, the Townshend taxes, and the tea ships that

they have failed to grasp much of the significance of British colonial legislation.

Every extension of the British Empire has brought with it heavy financial burdens to the people of the island. Civil government and military and naval protection for the expanding imperial territory have been furnished by the mother country. It is only in recent years that the discovery of the secret of local autonomy for the dominions has alleviated to any extent the burden of the British taxpayer. Let us remember the difficulties of this subject before we condemn the eighteenth-century politicians for their failure to solve a new and almost inexplicable problem.

Before the French and Indian War was over it was evident to the imperialists of Westminster that the new territory to be acquired must be defended by the imperial might; British troops must be maintained in Canada, in Florida, and in the Mississippi Valley to defend the territory from France, from Spain, and from the American Indians. For this purpose it was determined to scatter ten thousand troops in small detachments throughout the newly acquired territory. For instance, there was to be a body of troops in Canada, but from there detachments should be sent to occupy forts at Niagara, Detroit, Machinac, Green Bay, and several smaller posts in the Ohio Valley. The Illinois country was connected for military purposes with Pittsburg, whence troops were sent to Fort de Chartres. In a similar way military centers were created on the lower Mississippi and along the gulf coast. Besides the defense from foreign nations and the Indians that would be secured by this distribution of the troops, it was expected that the merchants engaged in the fur trade would be assisted in their operations and that the gradual and controlled creation of new colonies in the Mississippi Valley would be promoted.

This distribution of troops in small detachments separated from the settled region by wide stretches of wilderness was very expensive, far more so than their concentration near the populous towns would have been. Then too, the cost of the

new colonies which it was proposed to erect in Canada and the Floridas must be paid for at first out of the imperial exchequer. It was estimated that the new burden which would thus be placed upon the taxpayers of the empire would amount to about three hundred thousand pounds. This additional expense was undertaken for the welfare of the colonies. Was it fair, asked the politicians, that people living in England, Scotland, and Wales should pay the whole bill? The answer was naturally in the negative; and so it was decided that the colonies should pay one-third of the expense for maintaining the army. The result was, as you know, the passing of the stamp tax, which must be placed in the succession of causes that led to the later revolt of the colonies.

The outcry aroused by this piece of legislation is well known. The colonies united in resistance. This story we must pass by; but we are interested in the fact that the decision to employ this means of taxing the colonies arose out of the conditions existing in the Mississippi Valley. It was a western issue, not an eastern.

Out of the very same conditions came the next dispute between the colonies and the mother country. The repeal of the stamp tax had cut off a supply of money which was to be appropriated for colonial defense and the promotion of colonies in the Mississippi Valley. What now was to be done? Over this question politicians in England divided. Those who had repealed the stamp tax proposed that nothing should be done; the troops should be withdrawn from the West and concentrated in the populated areas where their support would cost less, and the merchants engaged in the fur trade should be prohibited from going beyond the mountains. Let the Indians come to the colonies, if they wished to trade. Of course this policy included the prohibition of all colonizing activities. The Mississippi Valley was to be left a huge Indian reservation from which all white men should be excluded. In this way the expense of the colonies could be curtailed. The exigencies of politics make strange bedfellows, it is said. On this new

plank in the colonial platform stood also the former sponsors for the stamp tax — they were naturally resentful over the repeal and were willing to make a difficult condition even more difficult. They took their stand, therefore, by the side of those who were responsible for the repeal of that measure so obnoxious to the colonies. Both groups of politicians were now in the opposition.

In power was the famous William Pitt, recently created the Earl of Chatham, a friend of the American colonies and one of the few men of eighteenth-century England with clairvoyant power to foresee the future development of the British Empire. He had placed in charge of the department under whose supervision came the colonies a friend and enthusiastic follower, the young Earl of Shelburne, whom Benjamin Disraeli, also a prime minister of England, called "the ablest and most accomplished minister of the eighteenth century." This young lord studied the American problem with his characteristically painstaking care and wrote down this conclusion: "There is no doubt but that the minister who could lessen the American expence, or who could establish an American fund adequate to such expence would do his country a very essential service." Lord Shelburne preferred increasing the imperial funds to cutting down expenses. He worked out a system of land sales, similar in character to that devised later by the United States. By means of selling to the Americans what they most wanted he calculated that the empire would secure a large sum of money which could be employed to advance the interests of the colonies. To put this scheme into execution, he proposed the creation of three new colonies, one centered around Detroit, one in the Illinois country, and one below the mouth of the Ohio River. This plan was finally accepted by the ministry and King George III during the year 1767.

Meanwhile another member of this same Chatham ministry, Charles Townshend, was considering the problem of the West from another angle. He preferred the other alternative, the

cutting down of expenses, and readily accepted the policy of the opposition, the abandonment of the Mississippi Valley to the Indians. On the floor of the House of Commons, under the hectoring of the opposition, he declared himself in favor of a retrenchment of the expense of the army by concentrating it on the seaboard and thus he placed himself on the side of those who would prohibit the expansion of the white population west of the mountains. If this method of retrenchment should be inaugurated he promised to find a means of raising money in the colonies to meet a part of the remaining expense. These promises were made by Townshend without previous consultation with his colleagues, who were panic stricken at hearing the chancellor of the exchequer thus speak. Chatham was very ill at the time and had not met with his cabinet for many weeks. The crisis called him from his sick bed. He had but one piece of advice: "Get rid of Townshend," and with this advice the king was in full agreement. Unfortunately Chatham's candidate, Lord North, would not accept the position. Chatham was too ill to take further action and so the ministry had to make a choice between the policies of the two rival officials, Shelburne and Townshend.

The momentous cabinet meeting where the final decision was reached was held on March 30, 1767. Lord Shelburne — never trusted nor understood by his colleagues, for he had a contempt for both their morals and their intellects — read a very able paper in which he expounded his proposed measures. Townshend had one reply to make. "I have promised the House of Commons," he said. The final decision of the cabinet took the form of a compromise, as might be expected. Shelburne's plan for the development of the West was accepted, but as a sop to Townshend he was permitted to introduce his ill-omened taxes, one of which was the irritating one on tea. No minister, except Townshend, believed in his puerile taxes — a policy "too lightly adopted . . . before it had been well weighed," wrote Shelburne — and everybody expected that these taxes would soon be re-

pealed. Yet it was three years before the repeal and then the job was only partially done. The tax on tea remained as a constant irritant to a hypersensitive colonial population.

It was such irritating puerility of British ministries that called from the robust and virile Colonel Barré at a later date his famous outburst of indignation: "A few years ago, the genius of a minister supported by your fleet and armies, set you at the head of the world. The East and West Indies were in your hands. Your infant hands were not able to grasp the world. Instead of that, you have been pursuing small criminals. Instead of giving law to the world, you have, like the Roman emperor, been staying at home, catching and torturing flies."

For the moment, in spite of the Townshend taxes, the proponent of a policy which would guide, direct, and foster the colonial forces instead of curbing them by force, had triumphed. Shelburne could now carry out his policy. This, however, he did not do, for his triumph was short lived. Lord Chatham continued to be ill, and without his leadership the ministry grew ever more and more feeble. Something desperate to repair its prestige must be done. Towards the end of the year 1767 began those changes which were to metamorphose the Chatham ministry into that of Lord North, to whose incapacity the United States of America form a living monument. Among the first changes made was the taking from Lord Shelburne of the control of colonial affairs. His successor was ignorant of American conditions and hostile to any measure which revealed the mind of Shelburne. Yet Shelburne's policy might have saved the British Empire, had it been followed.

I have given this narrative at some length to show how issues over the development of the Mississippi Valley divided not only British politicians but also British ministries. The decision to tax the colonies once more aroused to fever heat the political excitement in the colonies from New Hampshire to Georgia. Against the Townshend taxes were employed the

same popular meetings, the same petitions and remonstrances, the same agreements not to import British merchandise, and the same disturbances, acts of coercion, and riotings as marked the popular agitation against the stamp tax, but these now appeared in a more intense form. The colonies would not be taxed. This they declared in no unmistakable terms. When in 1770 there was a repeal of all the taxes except that on tea, this excitement calmed down; and cordial relations between the colonies and the mother country were in a large measure temporarily restored.

So far I have succeeded in tracing to an origin that was strictly western the two outstanding pieces of British legislation that angered the colonies. Let us now change our point of outlook from London to the colonies. Here we find that much of the violence of the colonies can be best explained by connecting happenings along the seacoast with those of the wilder frontier. Into the intricacies of the forces and emotions of the revolutionary psychology I cannot enter; but I do not wish to bring this paper to an end without indicating in a superficial way at least how the West entered directly into the lives of those men who made the Revolution a success and unquestionably became a factor in their personal attitude toward a movement which was so evidently leading the colonists toward revolt.

When I attempt to picture in my mind's eye eighteenth-century America, I see a line of stalwart men and women, dressed in buckskin and guernsey, armed with axes and guns; this line stretches along the eastern foothills that extend from Maine to Georgia, and all are crouching ready for a spring forward just as football players await the signal to rush into combat. They form the advance guard of the millions who are in the end to win for the world that fertile wilderness which is watered by the Mississippi and its tributaries. Many false starts were made, but the true signal rang through the valleys and along the mountain ridges in 1763 when the treaty of peace gave the eastern end of the Great Valley to the

British Empire. The men and women of the frontier in thousands scaled the mountain sides and rushed down the western slopes, each hoping to be the first to find the choice river bottom or grassy valley wherein to erect his cabin. Pittsburg rapidly filled with a western population and became the center whence went forth groups of settlers in all directions.

Mingled with the seekers of farms were land-speculators and their agents, the surveyors, looking for areas where might be established towns and villages. Many of these had larger visions of money-making; they would build new colonies here in the Ohio Valley and around the Great Lakes, where they saw thousands and thousands of men would eventually find homes. The eighteenth century was a period of wild speculation in land. The modern man satisfies his gambling instincts in margins or in oil wells; his forefathers felt the same craving for a quickly secured wealth and satisfied this love of financial adventure by taking a flyer in land. And here, west of the mountains, lay the greatest and most fertile valley in the world waiting for the hand of man to work therein the miracle of civilization. Before that miracle was fully wrought fabulous sums would be made by men of foresight and luck. He who selected the site of a future great city might make his millions. The game was exciting and many prominent colonists entered into the sport.

The citizens of Virginia had a distinct advantage over their rivals, for their charter, granted in the generous measure of monarchs when giving something the value of which they did not appreciate, gave to them boundaries which extended west and northwest in such a manner that the Old Northwest as well as Kentucky apparently was to be dominated by the men of the Old Dominion. Of course there were other colonies which claimed part of this extensive domain, but Virginians happened to be first on the ground and were pressing their rights. Washington, the Lees, Patrick Henry, and many others of less fame became the leaders of Virginia's army of

land-speculators. Economic pressure pushed them ever westward. The land of tidewater Virginia had become worn out by the raising of tobacco, and the population had shifted first to the piedmont region, and now it was seeking for new land across the mountains.

There were many men who looked with disapproval upon the claims of the Virginians. Citizens of such colonies as Pennsylvania, Maryland, and New Jersey, with established western boundaries, realized fully the advantage that would accrue to the more southern colony if she were permitted to exploit the vast West. Both financially and politically, Virginia would overshadow the other colonies. They therefore put forth the claim and developed a line of arguments to prove that the colonies all ended at the mountains or thereabout; and that the beyond was imperial soil which should be divided into new colonies, wherein these men of the more narrowly circumscribed colonies could find expression for their love of speculation. One of the foremost and most notable of these small colony leaders was Benjamin Franklin, who, finding it a slow process to accumulate wealth by following his motto of saving a penny, entered into successive extensive land speculations in the West. With Franklin were associated some of the largest merchants and influential politicians of Pennsylvania and New York.

This doctrine of an imperial domain was naturally popular with the British ministers, particularly when a number of them were let in on the ground floor of a promising speculation. The financial possibilities dangled before their eyes by Franklin and his associates made very clear the necessities of enforcing the royal claims against Virginia and of developing the West under imperial auspices. The plan was to erect a new colony by the name of Vandalia out of what is today West Virginia and eastern Kentucky in such a manner that a western boundary along the mountain divide would be firmly established for Virginia. The project was endorsed both by the ministry and by the king; and the only reason for its final failure was the outbreak of the American Revolution.

Tories were few in number in Virginia, when you compare their number with those in Pennsylvania and New York. Here is something to think about. Have you ever wondered why the men of Virginia, both those of property and those prominent in politics, almost unanimously took sides with the patriotic cause and thereby made it a success? Why was it that Virginia furnished the leaders of the Revolution, men like Henry, Washington, and Jefferson, whose adherence to the side of the colonies meant the difference between success and failure? Why was it that such men were to be discovered almost solely in the Old Dominion? Their counterparts in the other colonies, save in Massachusetts, risked life and property by adhering to the cause of the British Empire.

The problem is a complex one and cannot be given a simple answer. No one force will account for the cross currents of the political life in Virginia; but it is certain that the wiggle woggle of the imperial policy concerning the opening of the West, followed as it was by the final decision to erect a boundary for Virginia on the west, stirred up a popular discontent, particularly among the members of that class which led public opinion, the planters. In the make-up of Virginian popular psychology the anger at the imperial plans for the West is an important component.

The only enemies of Virginia's claim to the West were not the imperialists of the smaller colonies and their ministerial friends. About the year 1772 there was handed around among American land-speculators a copy of an opinion of two famous lawyers of Great Britain, each of whom held at some time the position of lord chancellor. These distinguished legal lights declared that the tribes of the Indians were nations and that English courts would therefore be compelled to recognize as valid titles to land purchased from them. This opinion opened wide the door to speculators. Indian titles might cost some presents, some diplomacy, some bribery, and much rum; but they were relatively cheap and easily obtained. In the next two or three years many land companies were formed, and huge stretches of territory containing millions of acres were bought.

The first of such purchases was made by the Illinois Land Company of Pennsylvania. A couple of years later a purchase was completed by the Wabash Land Company of Maryland in modern Indiana, and another by the Transylvania Company of North Carolina in Kentucky. All these threatened the rights of Virginians; and the colony, and later the state, picked up the gauntlet thus thrown down by these speculators. The West must be saved from these greedy men. Out of the fight which ensued came the expedition of George Rogers Clark, which ended in the occupation of the Illinois country by Virginians. Although the expedition was directed primarily against the British, there was a strong element of Virginia's land-speculating interests in it.

Today we are not going to discuss this phase of the subject, but the purchase in 1773 of those large tracts by the Illinois Land Company had a direct influence upon the last effort of the British ministry to form a policy for the Mississippi Valley. At the moment when the news of the purchase in Illinois reached London the ministers had under consideration the future of the Province of Quebec, which had been suffering from a chaotic condition of its systems of law and religion ever since the conquest. This purchase of land by the Illinois Land Company in the Far West was contrary to the policy of the ministry in power at the time. They had been persuaded, by methods already described, to form the new colony of Vandalia contiguous to territory that had been populated; but they were determined to prevent white men from disturbing the equilibrium of Indian relations by lawlessly settling in the Far West.

Every effort so far made by the British administration to regulate conditions in the Old Northwest had failed. It seemed necessary that the power of Parliament should now be invoked. This had never been done for a purely western matter; but the reorganization of the Province of Quebec appeared to offer an opportunity. This French province was to have a centralized provincial government easily controlled

by the mother country. Let this provincial government guard Indian and imperial rights in the territory north of the Ohio River. For this purpose the region stretching to the Ohio and the Mississippi was added to Canada. Here was a simple solution. It was also supported by the powerful fur-trading interests of both the mother country and the colonies, for, since primeval conditions are necessary for the trade in furs, fur-traders may be depended upon to oppose all proposals looking to the extension of the settlements of white men.

So it was done. Just before the outbreak of the Revolutionary War the British ministry carried through Parliament the famous Quebec Act by which many perplexing questions concerning the West were supposed to be settled; but they did not understand colonial psychology. There was Virginia with her claim to this vast and fertile region which Parliament had casually taken away and placed within the boundaries of another colony. Is it a cause for wonder that the Quebec Act figures prominently as one of the causes for the colonial revolt?

We have passed in review the years preceding the outbreak of the Revolutionary War and have discovered that the roots of the revolt of the colonies were not confined within the narrow limits of the tidewater region, but that they stretched far back into the hinterland and found sustenance even beneath the primeval forests that lined the banks of the rivers Ohio and Mississippi. A history of the American Revolution can not now be written without taking full account of this influence of the Mississippi Valley, for from the beginning to the end, every important event presents to the historian a western side. It is no exaggeration to assert that the Revolutionary War was a phase of that momentous struggle for the conquest of the Great Valley carried on by the white men against the forces of nature, the opposition of the Indians, and the prohibitions of external authority.

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SOME CHANGES IN LOCAL BOUNDARIES AND NAMES IN MINNESOTA[1]

There was some confusion in the boundaries of newly created counties in the early days. Lines overlapped and crossed, and it was in many instances difficult for one to know in what county he really lived or whether he had been shifted from one to another following the creation of some new county. The confusion in this respect was so great that Judge Moses Sherburne and William Hollinshead, who were appointed to compile the statutes in 1858, declared that they were unable to follow the various acts creating counties and could not give a list with correct boundaries. They incorporated the original acts in the compiled statutes of 1858 rather than undertake the job of reconciling the numerous confused lines.

A number of counties were created and their boundaries expressly defined which subsequently were put quietly to sleep by the creation of some new county embracing the same and perhaps additional territory. Pierce County, created in 1853 and named for President Franklin Pierce, adjoined Nicollet County; Davis County, created in 1855 and undoubtedly named for Jefferson Davis, lay north and west of Renville and Carver counties. Both were lost in the manner stated. Newton County, created in 1855 and originally named Doty County, included about half of the present territory of St. Louis County, but dropped out of sight when the latter county was created. Buchanan County, established in 1857 and named for President Buchanan, bordered on the St. Croix River in the northeast part of the territory, with Fortuna as the county seat. Neither the county nor the county seat can now be found and the territory thereof is mainly within Pine

[1] Read at the annual meeting of the Minnesota Historical Society, St. Paul, January 9, 1922.

County. Monroe County, created in 1858 and named for President Monroe, lay south of Mille Lacs and had Princeton as its county seat. Princeton has been for many years the county seat of Mille Lacs County, which includes much if not all of the old Monroe County territory. Big Sioux and Midway counties were created in territorial days out of territory now a part of South Dakota, adjoining on the west the present Rock and Pipestone counties. They were both put out of commission by the act of Congress defining the state boundaries.

As originally created Ramsey County was quite large and extended north to the Mille Lacs region, embracing practically all of the present territory of Anoka, Mille Lacs, Isanti, and Kanabec counties. In the creation of other counties in that part of the state a small tract of land, probably two or three townships belonging to and forming a part of Ramsey County, was cut off and left high and dry in the Mille Lacs country, sixty or seventy miles from home base. Whether Ramsey County ever exercised jurisdiction over that detached part of its territory, so isolated, does not appear. The matter was later corrected by adding the land to some adjoining county.

One example of the overlapping of county lines to the extent of wholly appropriating the territory of an existing county in the creation of new ones may be mentioned. The original county of the name of Lac qui Parle, created by an act of the legislature of 1862, met such a fate. It was located east of the Minnesota River, opposite the present county of that name. The boundary of the county extended due north from a point on the Minnesota River above Lac qui Parle Lake to the northwest corner of the township now known as Scott in Stevens County; thence east eighteen miles, or three townships, to the Pope County line; thence south on the town line to a point near Montevideo; and thence up the Minnesota River to the place of beginning. As thus bounded the county was eighteen miles wide, east and west, and about forty miles long. The north end took in the townships of Scott, Darnen, Hodges, Moore, Horton, and Synnes, now in Stevens County.

In 1868 the legislature rearranged the boundaries of Chippewa and Stevens counties and established Grant County, in doing which the county of Lac qui Parle was wholly absorbed and wiped out.

As originally established Stevens County contained eighteen townships, three extending east and west, and six north and south. The north boundary was the present north boundary of Grant County, and the south boundary extended along the present town line between the towns of Darnen and Morris. The north line of Lac qui Parle County was thus the south line of Stevens County. By the boundary rearrangements of 1868 Grant County was created and Stevens was made into its present form of sixteen towns square, including the six townships taken from Lac qui Parle. At the same time the boundaries of Chippewa County were changed, greatly enlarging the county and including therein all that was left of Lac qui Parle south of what had been added to Stevens County; consequently nothing remained of Lac qui Parle. Chippewa County as thus enlarged embraced all the territory of the present Swift County, which was created in 1870. The legislature provided that this change in the boundaries of Chippewa County should go into effect as soon as the voters of the adjoining county of Renville ratified an act of the same year which altered the boundary line of the latter county.

Whether it was intended thus to extinguish Lac qui Parle County or whether the lines of the new counties were drawn without proper information as to the boundaries of that county does not appear. Subsequently some one evidently started in search of Lac qui Parle County, but without success. It had disappeared. To remedy the situation the legislature in 1871 created the present Lac qui Parle County out of territory west of the Minnesota River, thus gratifying the wishes of those who wanted a county of that name.

No particular confusion or difficulty arose in the administration of public affairs from the overlapping of county lines or the overnight wiping out of existing counties, for few of

them were organized and many were paper counties only. Some, like Seward County, created in 1874, were subject to ratification or rejection by the voters and were not approved at the election. St. Anthony County was included in the "third council district" according to a law of 1855, but I have found no act creating a county of that name. Keating County was located southwest of the original Stearns County according to the act by which the latter county was established in 1855, but there was no Keating County. Ripley County, created in 1860; McPhail County, in 1866; Franklin County, in 1872; and Canby County, in 1879, were never organized and fell by the wayside.

Most of the counties of the state have retained the name under which they came into being. There have been some changes, however, and in this respect Wilkin County may be mentioned for the somewhat interesting facts it presents. The county was originally a part of Toombs County, christened in honor of Robert Toombs, a prominent citizen of the state of Georgia. It was said years ago by persons who were in position to know that a party of Southerners were looking over the North and West with a view to finding suitable territory for the extension of slavery at the proper time in the future.[2] The end of a day's journey in the summer of 1856 or thereabout brought them to the point where the Bois des Sioux and Otter Tail rivers join to form the Red River of the North, about where Breckenridge is now located or perhaps a little south of the present site. An optical survey of the country was fascinating; the broad prairies of Minnesota and of Dakota — an empire for miles and miles around — appealed to them as an inviting and promising field for the future exploitation and use of slave labor. They accordingly caused to be platted, in the spring of 1857, the town of Breckenridge; and in 1858 through their influence two new counties were

[2] The information for this story was secured from the late Joseph P. Wilson of St. Cloud, who had a vast store of knowledge of early history of the Northwest, particularly of Minnesota.

created by the legislature in that part of the state — namely, Toombs and Breckenridge. The town site as well as the county of Breckenridge was named in honor of Colonel John C. Breckenridge, a distinguished statesman of Kentucky and vice president of the United States from 1857 to 1861.

But the venture, or the dream, more properly speaking, of extending slavery into Minnesota was neither realized nor attempted. The Civil War came on. Mr. Toombs was of special prominence in the South as an active and ardent supporter of the rebellion, and so he came into great disfavor in the North, including Minnesota. In order to remove all taint of southern sympathy or respect for anyone supporting the war against the Union, the state legislature in 1862 changed the name of the county to "Andy Johnson," in honor of the loyal Tennesseean who became vice president on the second election of Abraham Lincoln. Johnson was in high favor all over the North and very popular because of his courageous stand in favor of the Union, but his conduct in matters of reconstruction after the war, when he became president following the death of Lincoln, was disappointing. He was impeached by the House of Representatives in Congress, and to add to his discomfort the Minnesota legislature in 1868 removed his name from the county and rechristened it Wilkin, its present name, in honor of a distinguished Minnesotan, Colonel Alexander Wilkin, who rendered conspicuous service in the Civil War. No doubt this name is permanent. The county of Breckenridge, which adjoined Toombs on the north, was in 1862 included in the county of Clay, named in honor of Henry Clay of Kentucky. Thus Breckenridge County disappeared also.

A number of people interested in the organization of these two counties settled in St. Cloud and remained there with their slave servants until the Civil War broke out, when they returned to their homes in the South. What became of them in after years is not known. They did not resume their residence

in this state after the war. They were men and women of high character, prominent in territorial and early state affairs as well as in local matters. They, of course, were in favor of the continuation of slavery. One of the St. Cloud newspapers repeatedly assailed the South and those in sympathy with it in violent language, and its editor, Jane Grey Swisshelm, awoke one morning to find her press demolished and her type scattered, some in the river and some on the road. Such things were not uncommon in those strenuous days in other parts of the country.[3] Though free speech was then as now guaranteed by the fundamental law, upon the subject of slavery one expressed his sentiments in particular sections of the country at the peril of treatment akin to that handed the editor of the St. Cloud paper.

In contrast to Wilkin County, Stevens County has retained the name by which it was first designated in 1862, when it was created along with Pope, Big Stone, Traverse, Chippewa, and the original Lac qui Parle counties; and the act creating them was reënacted in the statutory revision of 1866. Until formally organized in 1871, nine years after it was so created, Stevens County was attached successively to Stearns, Douglas, and Pope counties for judicial and general administrative purposes. Like many of the other counties which are named for some distinguished personage of the state or the nation, it was named, according to a publication recently issued by the Minnesota Historical Society, in honor of Isaac I. Stevens, who headed an expedition in the early fifties for the survey of a railroad from Minnesota to the Pacific coast. The Northern

[3] The most prominent Southerner at St. Cloud was "General" Sylvanus B. Lowry, the "democratic boss of northern Minnesota." Mrs. Swisshelm wrote that Lowry "lived in a semibarbaric splendor, in an imposing house on the bank of the Mississippi, where he kept slaves, bringing them from and returning them to his Tennessee estate, at his convenience, and no man saying him nay." See Lester B. Shippee, "Jane Grey Swisshelm: Agitator," in the *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, 7: 206–227 (December, 1920).

Pacific Railroad was subsequently constructed on the route substantially as surveyed by Stevens.[4]

While Stevens County has retained its original name, some of its towns have not fared so well. The county contains sixteen organized townships. The town now known as Swan Lake was first named Sahlmark, in honor of A. G. Sahlmark, a pioneer settler of the locality. He settled in this township before the county was organized and he and his sons participated in the township organization proceedings. In common with all the early settlers they suffered the privations and hardships of frontier life and, like many of their kind, tired of the struggle. In the early eighties the younger members of the family moved on in search of more favorable fields of opportunity, but whether the elder Sahlmark died while a resident of the town or followed his sons I do not know. Subsequent to their departure the name of the town was changed to Swan Lake by legislative enactment. The latter name was suggested by Peter G. Larson, a resident of the town.

The town of Hodges was organized under the name of Honolulu, which was changed by an act of the legislature of 1879 to its present name in honor of Leonard B. Hodges of St. Paul. Hodges was the representative of the old first division of the St. Paul and Pacific Railroad, and later of James J. Hill and the St. Paul, Minneapolis, and Manitoba Railway, in the encouragement of tree-planting on the western prairies. Many groves of trees along the railroad right of way, designed as "snow breaks," still stand as the results of his labors.

The town of Darnen was organized as Darien, from the isthmus of that name. The name was changed to Darnen by

[4] Warren Upham, *Minnesota Geographic Names; Their Origin and Historic Significance,* 535 (*Minnesota Historical Collections,* vol. 17 — St. Paul, 1920). The understanding has been heretofore, at least in Stevens County, that it received its name in honor of Colonel John H. Stevens, the territorial pioneer who constructed the first house west of the Mississippi River on the present site of Minneapolis. A statement to this effect appears in an *Illustrated Album of Biography of Pope and Stevens Counties,* 376 (Chicago, 1888). Both the author of this volume and his source of information are unknown to the present writer.

special act of the legislature in 1879 at the instance, as I recall the facts, of J. C. McCarthy of St. Paul, known to his friends as Jerry McCarthy, "alderman of the 6th ward."[5] McCarthy owned and operated through tenants a large farm in the township, which he thought properly should have an Irish name, since it was settled largely by Irishmen. He first suggested Derrynane, the name of a town in County Kerry, Ireland, and that name was used in the bill introduced in the legislature to effect the change. It was discovered, however, that a previously organized town in Le Sueur County had been christened by this name, and another had to be found. McCarthy was equal to the occasion and promptly directed the chairman of the proper legislative committee to strike out the letter *i* from Darien and to insert in its place the letter *n*, and behold, he had coined a new word, and the town of Darien became Darnen. To hear McCarthy pronounce the new name in his rich Irish brogue one would think the word one of ancient Irish origin.[6]

The name of the town of Potsdam west of Pepperton was changed to Everglade. The name first proposed in making the change was Chew, for Fielder B. Chew, an attorney then practicing at Morris and a member of the firm of Brown and Chew. But Chew did not approve of the proposal and the name Everglade was adopted.

Donnelly Township was first named Douglas, probably for Stephen A. Douglas. The change to Donnelly in 1877 was in honor of Ignatius Donnelly, who owned a large farm near the town. Donnelly, who served as lieutenant governor from 1860 to 1863 and as a representative in Congress from 1863 to 1869, was one of the most prominent and brilliant of the state's public men, from pioneer days down to the time of his death in January, 1901.

CALVIN L. BROWN

MORRIS, MINNESOTA

[5] I am confirmed in my opinion by H. W. Stone, formerly of Morris, but now living in Idaho.

[6] Upham, in his *Minnesota Geographic Names*, 535, states that the use of the name Darnen "elsewhere as either a geographic or personal name has not been ascertained."

NOTES AND DOCUMENTS

THE LOCAL HISTORY CONFERENCE, 1922

The success of the conference on local history work in Minnesota, with which the seventy-third annual meeting of the Minnesota Historical Society opened, indicates clearly that there is an increasing realization throughout the state of the importance of this field of activity. This implies a mounting interest which, in turn, is a necessary condition to the widespread cultivation of local history through definitely organized agencies.

In opening the discussion on the "Organization and Functions of Local Historical Societies and Their Relation to the State Society," Dr. Solon J. Buck first surveyed conditions in other states, especially in the East, pointing out that Massachusetts, for example, has approximately three hundred local historical societies. In Minnesota, on the other hand, there are but a meager handful. But the situation is by no means hopeless. With a basic interest to build upon, the desiderata are well-considered aims and definite plans. As a concrete suggestion to organizers in Minnesota localities, the speaker read a draft of a constitution for a county historical society.

Dr. Buck was followed by Dr. Orin G. Libby, who commented on the contrast between the situation in such eastern states as Massachusetts, New Hampshire, and Connecticut and that in Minnesota and Wisconsin. In the East, for well-understood reasons, the starting-point has been organization in the locality; in the West it has usually been state organization. Deep-rooted local pride exists in the typical western community, however, and this sentiment must be capitalized. The post-war period, psychologically, is a favorable time for so doing. War-time organizations can be utilized and war records committees can be developed into local historical

societies. Historic spots must be marked. A vigorous advertising campaign by the central historical society, with the local organization acting as its representative in the locality, would go far toward making the work of the society better known and more effective throughout the state.

Mr. Paul S. Thompson of Minneapolis called attention to the records gathered by the Hennepin County War Records Commission. These are to be placed in the Minneapolis Public Library, indexed, and kept accessible. A card index to information about all men who have played a prominent part in a community like Minneapolis, Mr. Thompson believed, would serve both practical and historical uses. Teachers interested in the past of their communities, newspaper publicity, and truer conceptions of history were stressed by the speaker as important elements in forwarding worth-while local historical activity.

Minnesota is beginning to "get out of its swaddling clothes," said Mr. Samuel Lord of the Minnesota Tax Commission. In 1919 the Dodge County Old Settlers' Association departed from the usual and called upon every old resident to prepare a reminiscent paper. Some twenty-five or thirty responded and the collection of papers is to be bound and deposited with the Minnesota Historical Society. His own contribution, Mr. Lord said, was a book of reminiscences of Mantorville, designed especially for his children.

Mr. Frank M. Kaisersatt of Faribault spoke briefly of the situation in Rice County, describing the work of the local war records committee of which he is chairman; and Mr. Burt Eaton of Rochester urged the need of greater publicity, particularly with reference to the activities of the state society. People are genuinely interested in the history of their own communities, but this interest must be utilized and stimulated.

The last speaker of the morning session was Judge Lorin Cray of Mankato. He told of an ambitious plan of the Blue Earth County Historical Society to erect a fire-proof building

of its own on the courthouse grounds, to be "the property of the county and to be managed by the state historical society." The twenty-five thousand dollars necessary to build this structure could be raised without difficulty, he declared, but the county commissioners decline the honor of having the building adjacent to the courthouse.

The thoughtful and well-considered discussion at this session was proof that representative Minnesotans are seriously concerned about the status of local history. The value of local history is acknowledged. The need for organization is obvious. The advantages of affiliation with the state society are recognized. Local history activity is on the whole inconsiderable at present, but all signs indicate that the situation will soon improve.

The following document, which was presented by Dr. Buck at the conference described above, is printed in order to make available for organizers of local history activities a form of a constitution suitable for a county historical society. Article I should be of general interest for its definition of the objects of such an institution.

PROPOSED CONSTITUTION FOR A COUNTY HISTORICAL SOCIETY

I OBJECTS

The objects of the society shall be the discovery, preservation, and dissemination of knowledge about the history of ——— County and the state of Minnesota. More particularly its objects shall be:

1. To discover and collect any material which may help to establish or illustrate the history of the county or the state, their exploration, settlement, development, and activities in peace and in war, and their progress in population, wealth, education, arts, science, agriculture, manufactures, trade, and transportation — printed material such as histories, genealogies, biographies, descriptions, gazetteers, directories, newspapers, pamphlets, catalogues, circulars, handbills, programs, and posters; manuscript

material such as letters, diaries, journals, memoranda, reminiscences, rosters, service records, account books, charts, surveys, and field books; and museum material such as pictures, photographs, paintings, portraits, scenes, aboriginal relics, and material objects illustrative of life, conditions, events, and activities in the past or the present.

2. To provide for the preservation of such material and for its accessibility, as far as may be feasible, to all who wish to examine or study it; to coöperate with officials in insuring the preservation and accessibility of the records and archives of the county and of its cities, towns, villages, and institutions; and to bring about the preservation of historic buildings, monuments, and markers.

3. To disseminate historical information and arouse interest in the past by publishing historical material in the newspapers or otherwise; by holding meetings with addresses, lectures, papers, and discussion; and by marking historic buildings, sites, and trails.

II Membership

1. The society shall be composed of active and honorary members. Active members shall include life and annual members.

2. Any person interested in the history of ——— County may be enrolled as an active member upon receipt by the secretary of the first payment of dues.

3. The dues of annual members shall be fifty cents a year, payable in advance on the date of the annual meeting. The dues of life members shall be a single payment of fifteen dollars.

4. Members failing to pay their dues for one year after they become payable shall be dropped from the rolls one month after the mailing of a notice of such default.

5. Nonresidents of ——— County may, in recognition of achievements or for services rendered to the society, be elected honorary members by a two-thirds vote of the members present at any regular meeting. Honorary members shall not be required to pay dues; they may attend all meetings of the society, but they shall not have the right to vote unless they are also active members.

III GOVERNMENT

1. The officers of the society shall be a president, a vice president, a secretary, a treasurer, and one corresponding secretary for each township in the county.

2. The officers shall be elected by ballot at the annual meeting each year and shall hold office until their successors have been elected and shall have duly qualified. In case of a vacancy arising in any office it may be filled for the unexpired term at any meeting of the society.

3. There shall be a board of directors composed of the president, the vice president, the secretary, the treasurer, and three other members elected at the same time and in the same manner as the officers. This board shall manage the affairs of the society, subject to such regulations and restrictions as may be prescribed by the society.

IV DUTIES OF OFFICERS

1. The president shall preside at all meetings of the society and of the board of directors. In case the president is absent at any meeting, the vice president shall assume his duties.

2. The secretary shall keep the minutes of all meetings of the society and of the board of directors, keep a roll of the members, collect the dues and transmit them to the treasurer, conduct the correspondence of the society, give notice of all meetings, notify committees of their appointment, and make a report at the annual meeting upon the work of the society. He shall transmit a copy of this report, as adopted by the society, to the secretary of the Minnesota Historical Society not later than the first day of December in each year.

3. The treasurer shall have the custody of the dues of members and of all subscriptions and donations in money. He shall keep an account of the same and shall make a report thereof at the annual meeting and whenever required by the society or the board of directors. He shall pay out the moneys of the society only on the presentation of bills approved by the board of directors as attested by the secretary.

4. It shall be the duty of the corresponding secretaries to promote the interests of the society in their townships and to report

to the secretary from time to time such matters as may be of interest to the society.

V Meetings

1. The regular meetings of the society shall be held on the first Monday of each month, except the months of June, July, August, and September. The annual meeting shall be held on the first Monday in October. The board of directors may change the date of any meeting provided one week's notice be given to all the members.

2. Special meetings may be called by direction of the president at any time, and shall be called upon written request of ten members of the society or a majority of the board of directors.

3. Twelve active members of the society shall constitute a quorum.

4. The board of directors shall hold meetings as needed, upon call of the president or the secretary or any three members of the board, but at least once each quarter. Four members thereof shall constitute a quorum.

VI Disposition of Collections

1. The society or the board of directors shall make provision for the custody of all material of historic value received by the society. Such material may, if desired, be given into the custody of a public library or any other agency or institution in ——— County. In case its preservation in the county is not specially desired it shall be tendered to the Minnesota Historical Society.

2. In consideration of assistance proffered by the Minnesota Historical Society in the prosecution of the work of this society, and because of the society's interest in the work of the state society, it is hereby provided that in case the society fails in three consecutive years to have a quorum at its annual meeting, which shall be interpreted as the cessation of an effective working organization, then all articles and things belonging to it shall become the property of the state society.

VII Affiliation with the State Society

The society shall be enrolled as an annual institutional member of the Minnesota Historical Society, paying dues of two dollars

a year in advance, on July 1 of each year, and as such it shall, whenever feasible, send a delegate to represent it at the meetings of the state society, and shall make an annual report to the secretary thereof, as hereinbefore provided.

VIII AMENDMENT

Amendments to this constitution may be proposed in writing filed with the secretary by any three members. The secretary shall notify all members in writing of the proposed amendments and they may be adopted by a two-thirds vote of the members present at any regular meeting, provided two weeks shall have elapsed after the sending of the notice.

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

Duluth and St. Louis County, Minnesota, Their Story and People: An Authentic Narrative of the Past, with Particular Attention to the Modern Era in the Commercial, Industrial, Educational, Civic and Social Development. Edited by WALTER VAN BRUNT. In three volumes. (Chicago and New York, The American Historical Society, 1921. xxxvii, 1,247 p. Illustrations.)

Having as his task the writing of the story of a region so rich in background, present interest, and possibilities as the northeastern part of Minnesota, the historian of St. Louis County ought not to experience either lack of material or of inspiration. The writer of the three volumes under consideration seems to have found an abundance of facts and figures to present, and for some of this material the student will ever be in his debt. If the author found inspiration, however, he felt it incongruous to inject it into a county history. Hence one will seek in vain for the color and romance that he might rightfully expect to find in an account of pathfinders, trail-makers, empire-builders, geographers, Jesuit fathers, missionaries, lumbermen, fishermen, miners, and farmers.

While considering at some length the early discoverers, and even delving into the geological and ethnological fields, the author has nothing new to present along these lines and this section of the work may be disregarded in favor of more lucid and thoroughgoing treatments of the same subjects. With the chapter treating the establishment of the American Fur Company's post at Fond du Lac the real contribution to history begins. Throughout the remainder of that part of the first volume which presents the history of Duluth, constant use is made of hitherto unprinted sources. Certainly one could not now think of writing an account of the history of Duluth without consulting the diaries of Edmund F. Ely and of James Peet. It is Mr. Van Brunt's history which has called attention to these and other invaluable manuscripts, and all thanks are due to the author for thus making them known. One could wish that a greater degree of assimila-

tion had taken place in incorporating this manuscript material in the account, but it cannot be remarked too often that if all writers of county histories sought out and quoted from such diaries, reminiscences, and letters of pioneers, the imperfect use by them of such data would be condoned.

After a nearly chronological account of Duluth follows a more or less topical discussion of such subjects as its churches, schools, newspapers, organizations, banks, manufacturing plants, lake commerce, et cetera. Thereafter follows the history of the mining region, town by town. While the author opens his chapter on the Mesabi Range with the statement that its history "holds many romances more engrossing and thrilling than an imaginative writer of fiction could plan," he straightway makes of the account as prosaic and uninteresting a tale as ever patient researcher waded through. How, for example, can one's interest be held, with subheadings in bold-face type breaking the continuity of one's thought every four or five lines? In fact, the whole book is marred with these unmeaning subheadings. Moreover, it would seem proper that in a history in three volumes, filling 1,247 pages and covering only one county, space ought to be alloted to an adequate and scientific discussion of the mines that have revolutionized the iron trade of the world. The problems of engineering that were encountered and solved, the financing of such a colossal piece of work and how it has affected the financial history of the country, the transportation lines that have been called into being, the men whose imagination made possible this whole enterprise — all these and many other points have been accorded too scanty consideration.

Of the accounts of other towns and regions in the county one can say only that they are all cast from the same mold. The "first" of everything, whether it be the first child born or the first railroad completed, is given the same prominence. Pioneers are listed, church and school establishments noted, population given, et cetera, et cetera. While these facts are distinctly worth while, they make this county history, like the majority of county histories, of interest only to the searcher after specific facts of local interest.

Two chapters deal with the services of St. Louis County men in the Civil, Spanish-American, and World wars. Then follows

a history of the townships of the county. The remainder of the work, pages 739 to 1,247, contains biographical data on the prominent men of the county, most of whom are still living. These sketches are in the regulation form for county histories, and though not too fulsome and containing much of distinct historical value, they occupy a disproportionate part of the entire work, if service in making known the history of the county be the criterion.

The presence of many pictures adds pleasure to the use of these volumes, but the reader feels constantly the need of maps. Especially is a large detailed map of the entire county needed. The presentation is, in general, journalistic, and split infinitives are the order of the day. The index, curiously enough, is found at the beginning of the first volume and is more carefully and scientifically prepared than the indexes of many county histories. It may be well, in closing, to state that the publishers, the American Historical Society, are not to be confused with their more distinguished brother publishers of similar name, the American Historical Association.

GRACE LEE NUTE

The Blanket Indian of the Northwest. By COLONEL G. O. SHIELDS. (New York, Vechten Waring Company, 1921. 322 p. Illustrations.)

Colonel Shields states in his preface that this work has developed from an illustrated lecture on the blanket Indians. "The lecture consists almost entirely of personal reminiscences of Indians I have known, hunted with, camped with, feasted with and starved with," he writes. It is well that the reader is thus partially prepared for what is to come, for the book is a curious jumble of history, legend, and tribal custom, set down without much attempt at organization and arrangement. A chapter on "How the Indians Name Their Pappooses" is followed by one entitled "A Hold Up in the Bitter Roots," and this in turn by one headed "A Raid by Cree Horse Thieves." Included in the last-mentioned chapter is a section describing "A Salmon Smokery." The disjointed character of the book makes it difficult to find specific items of information for which the reader may be looking.

Colonel Shields evidently has traveled widely and has observed the customs of many tribes, but he has made little or no comparative study of tribal customs despite the obvious value of such a method. He interprets the term "Northwest" to mean the Far Northwest, and most of his book deals with the tribes of the western plains and the Pacific coast. Chapters 14 and 15, however, discuss briefly the various groups comprising the Sioux nation, and mention is made in passing of the four bands of Minnesota Sioux which took part in the great outbreak of 1862. The author is clearly much more familiar with that tribe after it found a home on the plains of the Dakotas and Montana. Very little information, however, is furnished regarding them. They are of interest to the writer mainly because of their fierce struggles against the forces of the United States.

Much attention has been given in the book to the illustrations, and portraits of many noted chiefs are reproduced, but poor color work in the printing has lessened the attractiveness of the pictures. Even the brown tones are muddy and, as it is here reproduced, one misses something of the strength which is present in every line of the Barry portrait of Chief Gall.

In view of the request contained in the publisher's foreword to be charitable and to forgive "trifling human errors," since the work was put through the press without author's corrections, it is not worth while to call attention to typographical errors although some could be noted. The book is printed on good paper, attractively bound, and supplied with a table of contents and an index. The work may be regarded as an interesting but not particularly important contribution to the literature on Indian life and customs.

WILLOUGHBY M. BABCOCK, JR.

South Dakota Historical Collections. Volume 10. Compiled by the State Department of History (Pierre, Hipple Printing Company, 1921. 608 p. Illustrations.)

Among the papers printed in this volume that of greatest interest to Minnesotans is the history of "A Steam Wagon in Minnesota and Nebraska in 1860 and 1862." This machine was first used by the inventor, Major Joseph R. Brown, at Hender-

son, and later he experimented with a second model at Nebraska City, Nebraska. The article was compiled by J. B. Irvine from newspaper clippings and letters furnished by Samuel J. Brown of Browns Valley. An account of Major Brown's activities in South Dakota precedes the story of his "steam wagon."

Some material relating to another subject primarily of Minnesota interest — the explorations of Joseph N. Nicollet, upon which he based his famous map — also is included in the volume. A brief introductory note by Doane Robinson is followed by the accounts by John C. Fremont and Nicollet of their expedition in 1839 into what now is North and South Dakota. Both narratives are reprints; the former, from Fremont's *Memoirs of My Life,* the latter, from Nicollet's *Report Intended to Illustrate a Map of the Hydrographical Basin of the Upper Mississippi River.* The passage through South Dakota of an earlier expedition, that sent out in 1811 by John Jacob Astor to found Astoria, is described in an account of the "Astorians in South Dakota" quoted from Washington Irving's *Astoria.*

Under the heading "The State of Dakota," are published "such of the papers and records pertaining to the proposed State of Dakota as are readily available." Most of this material is gleaned from old newspapers, and it includes such items as a list of the members of the first legislature and the proceedings of the first session of the "Dakota State Legislature." The "Census of 1860" for that "portion of Minnesota Territory which lies west of the State of Minnesota" is here printed in a form which has been arranged and elaborated by George W. Kingsbury. From a volume entitled *Ten Years in the Ranks, U. S. Army,* written by and privately printed in 1914 for Augustus Meyers, is quoted a description of "Dakota in the Fifties" and of the author's experiences as a member of the Second United States Infantry at Fort Pierre and other Dakota cantonments during this period. "Historical Sketches of Union County, South Dakota," have been furnished by various pioneers and combined under this title by the historians of the local old settlers' association, M. B. Kent and Alice A. Tollefson. Practically the only original paper in the entire volume is a history of the Mennonites in South Dakota by Gertrude S. Young.

The book as a whole is conspicuous for the number of reprints and compilations included, and the reviewer is inclined to wonder whether more space might not have been used to advantage for the printing of unpublished documents. Most of the material presented, however, is source material; some of it is rather inaccessible in its original form; and the value of all is greatly enhanced by annotations. In addition to the papers already noted, the volume contains an account of the ninth biennial meeting of the State Historical Society of South Dakota, a list of the society's members, annual reviews of the progress of the state in 1918 and 1919, and a series of articles about some of the state's activities during the World War.

B. L. H.

Swedish Contributions to American National Life, 1638–1921. By AMANDUS JOHNSON, PH.D. (New York, Committee of the Swedish Section of America's Making, Inc., 1921. 64 p.)

Norwegian Immigrant Contributions to America's Making. Edited by HARRY SUNDBY-HANSEN (New York, 1921. 170 p.)

In these two publications an attempt is made to assess the contributions made by the Norwegian and Swedish elements to American development. The pamphlets were put out in connection with the "America's Making exhibit and festival in New York, October 29 to November 12, 1921," and obviously are designed to serve a popular educational purpose.

Dr. Johnson is an authority on the history of the Swedish colony on the Delaware and at present is preparing a four-volume study of the Swedish element in the United States. The pamphlet under review represents an attempt to condense a very large subject into the limits of a brief sketch. The result is a somewhat ill-organized and unevenly balanced account. It is nevertheless a useful summary and should serve as a suggestive introduction. A brief general statement on "History and Colonization" with which the book opens contains only two paragraphs on nineteenth-century Swedish immigration. This is followed by an interesting analysis of the "characteristics of the Swedes." Then follow statements of the contributions of the Swedes to various

phases of American development. Naturally a prominent position is given to agriculture and the author states that Swedes in Minnesota have more than two million acres under cultivation. A section on inventions describes the work of John Ericsson, Admiral John A. Dahlgren, and others. The participation of Swedes in American business life is then summarized. Religious and educational contributions are discussed in considerable detail. There are also sections on gymnastics, mechano-therapy, manual training, music, the fine arts, and politics. As one purpose of the publication is to bring out the loyalty of Swedish-Americans to American institutions, considerable attention is given to their participation in American wars. The booklet as a whole tells an interesting and important story of how the Swedes have played their part in the making of America.

The book on Norwegian immigrant contributions is a coöperative work. In a series of twelve chapters Norwegian-American achievements in various large fields of activity are set forth. With a few notable exceptions these chapters bear the marks of hasty preparation and inadequate research. The editor desired short chapters by Norwegian-American writers, and they had to be written hurriedly and in conformity with the popular purpose of the publication. If the separate chapters are light and contribute very few new facts, the volume as a whole does make a worth-while synthesis and will undoubtedly serve, as its editor hopes, " to stimulate an interest in the study of the material and intellectual part Norwegian immigrants and their descendants have played in the upbuilding of America."

In one chapter the editor, Mr. Sundby-Hansen, discusses " Contributions to Industry " with perhaps too much attention to biographical data and an inadequate consideration of the industrial contributions of the element as a whole. Mr. N. A. Grevstad hardly glances beneath the surface in his chapter on " Participation in American Politics. " Professor Gisle Bothne of the University of Minnesota surveys concisely the Norwegian-American church and educational work. Mr. O. P. B. Jacobson writes briefly but informingly on " Contributions to Agriculture. " Professor Julius Olson, with a broad knowledge of the subject, presents a short review of " Literature and the Press. " An inter-

esting account by Mr. Carl G. Hansen of Minneapolis deals with "Contributions to Sports." Professor George T. Flom in his chapter on "Discovery and Immigration" devotes three paragraphs to nineteenth-century immigration. "To follow the westward movement of Norwegian settlement," he writes, "would be to follow the ever moving line of the frontier." In other chapters attention is given to Norwegian immigrant contributions in the fields of the arts and sciences, humanitarian work, shipping, and the fishing industry. The part played by people of Norwegian blood in American wars is the subject of a compact and valuable summary.

T. C. B.

American Samplers. By ETHEL STANWOOD BOLTON and EVA JOHNSTON COE. (Boston, The Massachusetts Society of the Colonial Dames of America, 1921. viii, 416 p. Illustrations.)

The temptation in reviewing this volume on *American Samplers* is to quote from the numberless quaint rhymes or to describe the still quainter scenes embroidered on the "examplars" of our ancestors, for in these lighter matters there is much to interest and amuse the reader. But happily the book has a more serious side. Historical sketches are included for the samplers of every period, and there are chapters on the sampler verse, on stitches and patterns, and on schools for girls. Though the periods which form the basis of the treatment are arbitrary, the authors explain that convenience alone accounts for this choice of dates, for fads in sampler-making were no respecters of century marks.

The seventeenth-century sampler was more elaborate than that of the eighteenth and nineteenth. It served still the purpose for which the sampler came into existence, namely, to supply embroidery patterns. Hence it was worked by grown women as well as by girls. By the third decade of the eighteenth century a new kind of sampler was in vogue, in part growing out of conditions in the New World. It became a set task for young girls, and in place of intricate patterns of elaborate workmanship, it consisted of "little alphabets, numbers, and verses, separated by rows of extremely debased patterns." The early nineteenth century was the heyday of the American sampler, entirely freed from

English influence and exhibiting new patterns founded on the old but simplified for childish fingers. Though the stitchery was not fine and the fabrics not delicate, there was neither dearth of originality nor of samplers. With 1830 deterioration set in and the custom of sampler-making gradually died out, partly, no doubt, as a result of the craze for Berlin wool work.

The historical chapters are interesting and untechnical, not as complete here and there as one could wish and uneven in point of style and diction. They afford, however, a very good account of the main points in sampler history.

The purposes for which this book will be used in the majority of cases will be to consult the registers of samplers. Following every chapter of text is a list of samplers for the period described, giving the name of the maker, the year of completion, the maker's age, the size of the piece, the design, the stitches used, and the name of the present owner. The labor of collecting data about the twenty-five hundred samplers on which the conclusions of the book are based must have been Herculean, and the fact that not nearly all the samplers in the United States are included detracts in no wise from the worth of the book. Rather, it is expected that this volume will arouse an interest which will result in the resurrection of many a sampler now hidden away in garret and chest.

Besides the chapters written in description of sampler-making in the three centuries, there is a chapter on sampler verse, consisting mainly of a letter by Barrett Wendell. Following this chapter there is an anthology of sampler verse, arranged chronologically under such heads as "In Praise of Patriotism," "Reflections on Death and Sorrow," and the like. From this anthology a study of the feminine mind in the earlier centuries of American history could be made, so replete is it with indications of the joys, sorrows, aspirations, and religious sentiments of the girls of those years. It is a pleasure to find that individuality would display itself now and then, even though many, perhaps most, of the verses were doubtless supplied by parent or teacher. Surely no unimaginative schoolma'am prompted the sentiments on Patty Polk's sampler: "Patty Polk did this and she hated every stitch she did in it. She loves to read much more." A more complete interpretation of the verses of this

anthology would have proved very acceptable, though too much cannot be asked from a pioneer work of this kind.

From sampler to schoolroom is but a step, and one of the most interesting points established by this book is the fact that a hitherto ignored source for material on the education of girls in America is to be found in the sampler. The chapter on "Schools and Schoolmistresses" is one of the most instructive in the book, though suggestive of new approaches to the subject of the education of girls rather than a lengthy treatment of it. The final chapter entitled "Embroidered Heraldry" tells to most readers, doubtless, a new story — the interest of our forebears in hatchments and the way in which arms were embroidered by the daughter of the house.

The paper, binding, and print leave nothing to be desired, and the beautiful illustrations, one hundred twenty-six in number, mostly photographs of samplers, are of invaluable assistance to the reader. On the whole, this unusually attractive book is one of which the Massachusetts Society of the Colonial Dames of America and all the sister organizations which helped in the preparation of it may be proud. An interest in the activities of the early American woman was to be expected with the growing realization that whatever exhibits the everyday life of a group of people is of more importance for an understanding of their history than those outstanding occurrences with which the chronicler type of historian concerned himself. Hence it is not surprising at this time to find books like *American Samplers* on the bookseller's shelves.

G. L. N.

MINNESOTA HISTORICAL SOCIETY NOTES

The seventy-third annual meeting of the society on January 9 was divided into several sessions. The first of these, held in the forenoon, consisted of a conference on local history work in Minnesota and was attended by about thirty people, including representatives of local history interests in Crookston, Duluth, Faribault, Rochester, Mankato, Mantorville, Minneapolis, and St. Paul. A furthur account of this conference will be found in the "Notes and Documents" section of this number of the BULLETIN. At the afternoon session the papers by Professor Alvord and Chief Justice Brown which are printed in this number were read; and "Pictures Illustrating Minnesota's World War Activities" were exhibited by Mr. Cecil W. Shirk, field secretary of the society. The business session, at which the usual reports of the treasurer and the superintendent were presented, was held at four o'clock; and in the evening the annual address was delivered by Dr. Orin G. Libby, secretary of the State Historical Society of North Dakota and professor of history in the University of North Dakota. This address on "Some Aspects of Mid-west America," is printed as the first article in this number of the BULLETIN. The meeting closed with an informal reception for members of the society and their friends, which was in charge of a committee of ladies consisting of Mrs. Charles E. Furness, Mrs. Roderick E. Daniel, Mrs. Frederick G. Ingersoll, Mrs. C. J. A. Morris, Mrs. Arthur Savage, and Mrs. Edward B. Young.

"Pioneer Life in the Twin City Region" was the subject of a lecture by Mr. Edward A. Bromley of Minneapolis, illustrated by about one hundred lantern slides made from his collection of historic pictures, which was presented at the open session held in connection with the stated meeting of the executive council on the evening of April 10.

Three members of the society, Mrs. Sampson R. Child and Albert C. Loring of Minneapolis and William A. Pell of Clare-

mont, California, were enrolled as contributing-life members and 213 people joined the society as active members during the six months ending on March 30, 1922. In the following list the names of these new members are grouped by counties:

BELTRAMI: Charles W. Stanton of Bemidji and Margaret Arnold, Margaret I. Paul, and Melford I. Smith of Blackduck.

BIG STONE: Charles W. De Greef of Odessa and Justin M. Snesrud of Ortonville.

BLUE EARTH: Frank E. Putnam of Blue Earth and Herbert C. Hotaling of Mapleton.

CARLTON: Henry C. Hornby, Clarence I. McNair, and J. F. Wilson of Cloquet.

CHIPPEWA: Reverend John M. Mason of Montevideo.

CLAY: Oliver M. Dickerson and Herman C. Nordlie of Moorhead.

COTTONWOOD: Charles W. Gillam of Windom.

DAKOTA: Alice S. Le Duc of Hastings.

FREEBORN: Reverend Victor E. Pinkham of Albert Lea.

GOODHUE: Fred W. Scofield of Cannon Falls and C. A. Rasmussen of Red Wing.

HENNEPIN: Orange S. Miller of Champlin; Edwin M. Barton of Hopkins; and Paul A. Brooks, Edwin H. Brown, Francis A. Chamberlain, Mrs. Emojene D. Champine, Joseph Chapman, Louis L. Collins, Stewart G. Collins, Gratia A. Countryman, Dr. John G. Cross, William A. Currie, James T. Elwell, Mrs. John K. Fancher, Edwin L. Gardner, Herbert W. Gardner, George M. Gillette, Lewis S. Gillette, Herbert H. Goodrich, Mrs. Alfred Gulbransen, Lucius A. Hancock, Samuel B. Harding, William L. Harris, Mrs. Eugene A. Hendrickson, Frank J. Hollinbeck, Andrew G. Johnson, William C. Johnson, Roy C. Jones, Paul J. Koughan, Colonel George E. Leach, Reverend Everett Lesher, John Leslie, Right Reverend Frank A. McElwain, John S. McLain, John G. Maclean, Mrs. Charles H. Malmstedt, Edgar L. Mattson, Mrs. Leah Morehouse, Mrs. George D. Noe, Mrs. William G. Northup, Jonathan E. Painter, George H. Partridge, Edmund J. Phelps, Frank M. Prince, Albert W. Rankin, James L. Record, Chelsea J. Rockwood, Harry W. Rubins, Elizabeth Scripture, Francis C. Shenehon, Cecil W. Shirk, Myron K. Sim-

mons, Jacob Stone, Jenny L. Teeter, Robert Thompson, Virgil E. Turner, Charles H. Van Campen, Samuel R. Van Sant, Mrs. Frank M. Warren, Edward P. Wells, Margaret West, Walter H. Wheeler, Hamilton L. Whithed, William L. Wolford, and Dr. Douglas Wood of Minneapolis.

ITASCA: Edgar A. Bernard of Calumet.

HUBBARD: Keith Rogers and Clay P. Wright of Park Rapids.

KANDIYOHI: Henry G. Young of Willmar.

MARSHALL: N. A. Holen and O. L. Melgaard of Argyle.

MILLE LACS: Albin Allen of Milaca.

MORRISON: Richard D. Musser and Charles A. Weyerhaeuser of Little Falls.

MOWER: Josephine Skree and W. W. Walker of Austin.

NOBLES: Mrs. Elfreda E. Fagerstrom, Albert J. Goff, Arnold T. Latta, Mrs. Nellie R. Lien, and Mrs. George O. Moore of Worthington.

NORMAN: John L. Wold of Twin Valley.

OLMSTED: Henry S. Adams, Dr. Arrah B. Evarts, and Mrs. W. B. Linton of Rochester.

OTTERTAIL: Elmer E. Adams of Fergus Falls.

PENNINGTON: Oscar A. Naplin of Thief River Falls.

PINE: George W. Empey of Hinckley.

PIPESTONE: George P. Gurley of Pipestone.

RAMSEY: William A. Miller of Bald Eagle Lake and Mrs. Charles W. Ames, Frederick B. Angell, Bismark C. Archer, Axel E. Benson, Mrs. Matilda Berg, Walter L. Bernard, Harvey A. Blodgett, Michael J. Boyle, George M. Brack, Paul G. Bremer, Louis A. Bumgardner, Mrs. William Butler, Warren S. Carter, John O. Cederberg, Jr., Mrs. Thomas Cochran, Haydn S. Cole, Dr. Wallace H. Cole, Dr. Alexander R. Colvin, Leavitt Corning, Carl P. Dahlby, Timothy Doherty, Archbishop Austin Dowling, John W. G. Dunn, Maurice N. Dustin, William J. Dyer, John W. Flynn, George W. Gardner, James P. Gribben, Dr. Ernest M. Hammes, Gustaf I. Hedberg, Jonas G. Hedberg, Jacob Hodnefield, Franklin F. Holbrook, Lawrence C. Jefferson, Herman Johnson, Horace C. Klein, Emanuel E. Larson, Mrs. Erasmus C. Lindley, Mrs. Harry M. Lufkin, Arthur C. Lundholm, George W. McCree, Dr. Archibald McLaren, Katharine Manahan,

William D. Mitchell, George W. Moberg, Esther O. Nelson, Grace L. Nute, Axel Olson, Dr. Edward W. Ostergren, Dr. Frederick M. Owens, Charles J. Palmquist, Clara M. Penfield, George W. Peterson, Albert A. Pollard, Eugene W. Randall, Mrs. Grant Rideout, Bishop H. Schriber, Charles G. Schulz, Carl T. Schuneman, Mrs. Theodore L. Schurmeier, Luman C. Simons, Victor C. Sundberg, Lewis Swenson, Herman Tell, Jacob Van Rhee, James Wallace, Rodney M. West, George Wicker, and Bernard Zimmerman of St. Paul.

RICE: Howard Bratton, Eugene H. Gipson, and Guy E. Menefee of Faribault; and Edwin B. Dean, Howard Robinson, and Isabella Watson of Northfield.

ROCK: J. N. Jacobson of Hills.

ST. LOUIS: Oscar J. Larson, George O. Lockhart, Leon E. Lum, and John W. Nagle of Duluth; and Fred W. Bessette of Orr.

SCOTT: Reverend Matthias Savs of Shakopee.

STEARNS: Reverend Alexius Hoffman of Collegeville.

STEELE: Samuel A. Rask of Blooming Prairie.

STEVENS: Mrs. Frank A. Hancock and Fred R. Putnam of Morris.

SWIFT: Dr. Charles L. Scofield and Albert L. Stone of Benson.

TRAVERSE: George G. Allanson and M. Ethel Allanson of Wheaton.

WASECA: Mrs. Lillian C. Curtiss of Waseca.

WINONA: Leonard F. Kramer of Altura.

NONRESIDENT: Captain James P. Murphy of Camp Gaillard, Canal Zone; Glenn W. Goldsmith of Colorado Springs, Colorado; Thomas K. Humphrey of Washington, D. C.; Mrs. Daniel Merriman of Boston and Frank J. Wilder of Somerville, Massachusetts; Minnie J. Nielson of Bismarck and Edward E. Heerman of Devils Lake, North Dakota; John Clark and Mrs. Lura C. Clark of Lakewood, Ohio; Charles H. Babcock of Maryhill, Washington; and Reverend William F. Hood of Superior, Wisconsin.

The society lost nine active members by death during the six months ending March 30, 1922: Albert H. Turrittin of Minne-

apolis, October 1; George H. Daggett of Minneapolis, October 30; Robert C. Saunders of Seattle, Washington, January 31; Mrs. Mary B. Aiton of Minneapolis, February 3; Benedict Juni of New Ulm, February 16; Hascal R. Brill of St. Paul, March 1; Justin M. Snesrud of Ortonville, March 5; Charles M. Loring of Minneapolis, March 18; and Newel H. Clapp of St. Paul, March 30; also one corresponding member, Colonel John P. Nicholson of Philadelphia, March 8.

The society's offer to enroll schools and libraries as subscribers to its publications on the same terms as those of individual annual membership was accepted by forty-two institutions during the six months ending March 30, 1922. The new subscribers are: the public libraries of Albert Lea, Buhl, Crosby, Faribault, Fairmont, Hibbing, Hutchinson, Mountain Iron, Northfield, Ortonville, Owatonna, Redwood Falls, Rochester, and Wabasha; public schools in Alden, Aurora, Cloquet, Crosby (Crosby-Ironton High School), Detroit, Elgin, Fairmont, Franklin, Gaylord, Harmony, Hendricks, Hibbing (Independent School District No. 27 and Lincoln High School), Milan, Minneapolis (East, South, and West High Schools), Perham, Stephen, and White Bear; Northrop Collegiate Institute, Minneapolis; the Northwest School and Station of the University of Minnesota, Crookston; the library division of the Minnesota State Department of Education, St. Paul; the Summit School, St. Paul; St. Olaf College, Northfield; St. John's University, Collegeville; the Minnesota State Teachers' College, Winona; and Seabury Divinity School, Faribault.

The superintendent's address on "The Minnesota Historical Society, Its Work and Its Needs," before the Minnesota Editorial Association in 1921 (see *ante,* p. 54) is printed in the *Proceedings* of the fifty-fifth annual convention of that organization (St. Paul, 1921. 91 p.) This is followed by "A Scolding Message from John Talman," the society's newspaper librarian, in which attention is called to the importance of regularity in the sending of Minnesota newspapers to be filed in the society's newspaper collection.

"An Introduction to Minnesota History" was the subject of a luncheon talk by the superintendent before the Hennepin

County Dental Association of March 7. Mr. Babcock, the curator of the museum, spoke on topics of Minnesota history and the work of the society at a joint meeting of the P. E. O. chapters of the Twin Cities on October 19, and at meetings of the St. Paul Rotary Club on November 22 and the St. Paul Housewives League on March 27. The last meeting was held in the auditorium of the Historical Building and the program included a tour of the museum by the two hundred members present.

The curator of the museum spent a week at Morris in November advising and assisting in the installation in the new memorial armory of the World War collection assembled by the Stevens County War Records Committee. (See *post,* p. 298.)

The society's policy of collecting material on the Scandinavian element in the United States is the subject of an appreciative article in the *American-Scandinavian Review* for March, 1922. Special reference is made to the agreement with the Swedish Historical Society of America whereby the library of the latter organization has been placed in the permanent custody of the Minnesota Historical Society.

An extensive display of books, pictures, pamphlets, and other material from the library of the Swedish Historical Society of America was exhibited in the museum in connection with the annual meeting of that organization on November 26.

ACCESSIONS

Mrs. Clara Hill Lindley has presented to the society a copy of a privately printed book entitled *Some Letters of Monsignor Louis E. Caillet and August N. Chemidlin, 1868–1899.* The book, which is edited by Mrs. Lindley, contains, besides the letters, a sketch of Father Caillet, by the Reverend Francis J. Schaefer, and one of Mr. Chemidlin, by the editor. It is a valuable contribution to Minnesota biography and history.

Among the more extensive gifts of library material received recently are about four hundred maps, atlases, blue prints, and war posters from the State Library; nearly five hundred bulletins and periodicals from the department of labor and industries; and

about three hundred books and pamphlets from the Reverend George C. Tanner; also a second installment of journals of the Episcopal dioceses of the United States, making a total collection of about three thousand such journals, from the Minnesota diocese. An almost complete set of United States Geological Survey folios received from the State Library was duplicated in the society's library, and was turned over to the new Hill Reference Library.

The most important collection of source material received by the society during recent months consists of the papers of the Honorable James A. Tawney, presented by his son Mr. Everett T. Tawney of Winona. As a member of Congress from 1893 to 1911 and as a member of the International Joint Commission from 1911 until his death in 1919, Mr. Tawney has a prominent place in the history of the state; and this extensive and unusually complete collection of his papers, which includes copies of speeches, diaries, account books, letters, and miscellany, will contribute much to our knowledge of Minnesota and American history during the period of his activity. Letters from Presidents Roosevelt and Taft and other prominent Americans add to the value and interest of the collection.

To the first installment of papers of George A. Brackett received by the society from Mr. Chapin R. Brackett (see *ante*, p. 169), the donor has recently added another large group of papers, consisting in the main of material relating to Alaska and especially to the transportation enterprises in that territory with which Mr. Brackett was associated. Besides contributing valuable material for an important chapter in the history of American expansion, these papers, which include his autobiography, help to complete the record of the activities of a prominent figure in Minnesota history.

Copies of five "America letters," descriptive accounts written by Norwegian immigrants to friends and relatives at home, have been received indirectly from Norway, the work of transcription having been done from originals in the local church archives of Ullensvang. The letter of most importance is one written by Gjert Gregoriussen Hovland on April 22, 1835. Hovland's letter,

which contains a careful account of American conditions, was written in the New York settlement established by the first group of nineteenth-century Norwegian immigrants. Copied, recopied, and extensively circulated, the letter had considerable influence upon Norwegian immigration in 1836 and 1837 and perhaps later.

From Miss Helen Carver of Tryon, North Carolina, the society has received a letter written by her father Henry Carver at Camp Smith, North Dakota, on July 15, 1863, while serving as quartermaster with Sibley's expedition against the Sioux. The letter gives a vivid account of the writer's experiences and is a valuable contribution to the extant knowledge of the expedition. Miss Carver has presented also a Sioux war bonnet and other interesting Indian articles collected by her father during the expedition.

Mrs. Fred A. Bill has presented a letter written in 1857 by Joseph McMaster at Cincinnati to his brother Thomas at Read's Landing. Travelers had evidently given the writer an unfavorable impression of the community in which his brother resided, for one is quoted as declaring that Read's Landing was "the most wicked place he was ever in — no body can speak three words without swearing."

Two items of genealogical data in manuscript form recently received are: the records of the Tomlinson family, presented by Mr. R. E. Phillips of White Bear; and a Jerome and Sardeson genealogy, given by Mr. Charles W. Jerome of Excelsior.

Mr. Donald D. Harries of St. Paul, who served as an aviator with the British and American forces in the World War, has deposited with the society a number of museum objects relating to aviation and a number of interesting war-time documents such as a permit to travel in Italy and a British movement order. Of especial interest is an aviation diary kept by Mr. Harries while he was learning to fly and afterwards while engaged in bombing operations. "Hits on factory," and "Saw the country captured by our troops; Metz on fire. Considerable aerial activity, battle going forward well," are some of the entries in the space assigned to "Remarks."

A unique and valuable addition to the historical portrait collection is the small framed oil painting of Father Louis Hennepin which was presented by Mrs. James J. Hill of St. Paul a short time before her death. The portrait, which bears the date of 1694, is evidently the work of a master and is believed to be the only likeness of this early explorer in existence.

Other recent additions to the society's portrait collection include a large framed photograph of the Honorable Thomas M. Pugh of Duluth, for many years a member of the state Senate, presented by his son, Mr. E. H. Pugh of Duluth; a framed photograph of William Gardner Gates, a pioneer settler of Belle Plaine, presented by his daughter, Mrs. C. L. Culler of Williamsport, Pennsylvania, through the courtesy of Miss Helen Castle; a crayon portrait of Major Thomas M. Newson, pioneer journalist and author, presented by his daughter, Miss Mary J. Newson of St. Paul; and an enlarged photographic portrait of the late Judge Loren Collins, presented by his three sons, the Honorable Louis L. Collins, Mr. Stuart G. Collins, and Mr. Loren F. Collins. A framed lithograph of General George A. Custer, who lost his life in the fight with the forces of Sitting Bull, has been received through the courtesy of Mr. Olin D. Wheeler of St. Paul and Mr. O. E. Northup of Hawley. The picture has hung in the Northern Pacific station at Hawley for many years and is said to have been placed there by Custer himself.

A gift of very great value is the Charles P. Noyes coin collection, presented by Mrs. Noyes, which consists of more than three thousand coins, including issues of nearly all the countries of the world, both ancient and modern. Nearly all the coins have been identified, classified, and arranged by Mr. and Mrs. Noyes, thus making the collection especially useful for reference purposes. Mrs. Noyes has presented also a considerable number of books on numismatic, genealogical, and historical subjects, and a collection of Mr. Noyes's papers. The latter relate principally to various societies and institutions with which Mr. Noyes was connected and to genealogy.

Dr. Otto L. Schmidt of Chicago, a corresponding member of the society, has presented an interesting and valuable set of sixty-

nine pencil and water-color sketches by an unidentified artist who visited Minnesota in the early days. Internal evidence indicates that the pictures were made about 1850. Drawings of Fort Snelling, St. Anthony Falls, the Chapel of St. Paul, a Red River train in camp, and numerous other subjects of more or less direct Minnesota interest are included in the collection.

Recent additions to the society's collection of costumes and accessories include a number of dresses, capes, fans, and other articles of the seventies and eighties, received from Mr. and Mrs. Edgar C. Varney of St. Paul through the courtesy of Mr. and Mrs. Herbert C. Varney; a sunbonnet and some pieces of lace worn about 1880, from Miss Marjorie Knowles of St. Paul; and a dress of 1912 with a hobble skirt, the antithesis of the hoop skirts of the sixties, from Mrs. Margaret Goodwillie of St. Paul through the courtesy of Mrs. Grant Rideout.

An interesting addition to the society's collection of old-fashioned toys has been made by Mrs. Charles E. Furness of St. Paul, who has presented a large china doll brought to Minnesota in 1858. Through the courtesy of Mrs. Furness the society also has received, as a gift from Mrs. E. L. Shepley of Boston, a handsome brocaded blue silk dress of the period of the eighties.

From Dr. R. Edwin Morris of St. Paul, the society has received three officer's uniforms which were used in the Colorado National Guard in 1903, during the strike of the gold miners. He also presented a Red Cross flag and a signal flag which were used at the same time.

Captain Hiram D. Frankel of Mahtomedi has presented in the name of the Sixth Minnesota Infantry a large collection of relics gathered after the forest fire at White Pine, Aitkin County, on September 6, 1921. Accompanying photographs testify to the valiant relief work done by the regiment in the stricken community.

Relics of the Sioux Massacre of 1862 which were found by Captain Charles J. Stees on various battle grounds after engagements with the Indians are the gift of Miss Kathrene Stees Sleppy of St. Paul. A rattle decorated with crow feathers, said

to have belonged to Little Crow, a scalping knife still showing indications of its bloody service, a papoose blanket decorated with human hair, and other articles are included in the collection.

Miss Abby A. Fuller of St. Paul has presented two teacups and saucers decorated with pictures of George and Martha Washington, which were used at the St. Paul celebration of the Bunker Hill centennial, and a handmade lace collar that was worn in 1840. Through her courtesy, also, Mr. James B. Hewitt of St. Paul has given, in the name of the late Augustus Kirby Barnum, a curiously decorated birchbark basket which was found on Manitou Island, White Bear Lake. To Mrs. Edward C. Dougan of St. Paul the society is indebted for the gift of two badges and two souvenir packages of tea used at the Bunker Hill centennial.

A large framed facsimile of Magna Carta is the gift of Mr. Jacob Hodnefield of St. Paul.

Two certificates proclaiming that the bearer had contributed half a mark to the Ludendorff fund for war wounded, which were picked up by a member of the 104th United States Infantry in a German dugout, are interesting additions to the World War collection. They are the gift of Mr. Harold S. Nelson of Owatonna. Mr. Raymon Bowers of Minneapolis has presented a Hungarian rifle which he picked up at Mehun, France, while serving overseas during the World War.

To Mr. John W. Gilger of Minneapolis the society is indebted for the gift of an Indian scalping knife which was found by his son, Mr. Paul Gilger, under a bleaching buffalo skull in Carter County, Montana.

Two native javelins from Africa with points made of hand-forged steel and bound into wooden shafts with brass and copper wire are the gifts of Mr. Richard L. Hubbard of St. Paul.

Mr. Paul Thompson of Minneapolis has presented two pieces of fractional currency of the series of 1874. These notes for ten cents each are interesting because they show the way in which the fractional currency idea of the Civil War period was carried over to meet the shortage in small change after the panic of 1873.

NEWS AND COMMENT

Minnesota was well represented at the 1921 meeting of the American Historical Association, the Mississippi Valley Historical Association, and other societies at St. Louis on December 28, 29, and 30. Three members of the faculty of the University of Minnesota presented papers. Norman S. B. Gras dealt with "The Development of Metropolitan Economy in Europe and America," which was discussed, with special reference to the Twin Cities, by Mildred Hartsough. A brilliant essay was read by Clarence W. Alvord, on the subject "*In re* the American People vs. George III." At the session on medieval history August C. Krey discussed "The International State of the Middle Ages and Some Reasons for its Downfall." A paper on "The Scandinavian Element and Agrarian Discontent," by Theodore C. Blegen of Hamline University, dealt in large part with conditions in western Minnesota in the eighties and nineties. Two papers, read before the conference of historical societies, should interest Minnesota students: "Historical Material in Washington Having Value for the Individual State," by Newton D. Mereness; and "Historical Materials in the Depositories of the Middle West," by Theodore C. Pease. The conference of archivists, presided over by Solon J. Buck, considered the problem of how to secure better archival administration in the states, with reports on the situation in Connecticut, North Carolina, and Iowa.

A resolution adopted by the American Legion at its third national convention, held in Kansas City from October 31 to November 3, 1921, is of interest to those who believe that the federal archives at Washington should be adequately housed and administered. Asserting its vital interest in the securing and preservation of the archives of our national government," the legion urges "proper legislation for the erection of a suitable repository for all national archives where they may be safe from any future possibility of fire, vermin, or other causes for their destruction." An account of the archives situation in Washington is printed in the *Minneapolis Journal* for March 19 under the

title "Priceless Records of World War in Peril of Destruction by Fire Because Government Neglects to Safeguard Papers." An article by Charles Phelps Cushing in the *American Legion Weekly* for January 27 bears the somewhat satirical title, "'Cherished' Records of the War." By adverse vote of the House of Representatives the building project was lost in the present session of Congress, after the Senate had acted favorably upon the matter.

"Wakened by the World War, Minnesotans at Last Are Studying History" is the title of an article by William Stearns Davis, professor of history in the University of Minnesota, in the *Minneapolis Journal* for January 15. The author describes the increased interest manifested in the study of history since the outbreak of the World War and discusses some of the forty-four courses in history now offered at the university.

In an able and stimulating study entitled "State History," published in the December and March numbers of the *Political Science Quarterly,* Professor Dixon Ryan Fox of Columbia University analyzes contemporary activity in the field of local history, and finds, in the work of western state historical societies like those of Wisconsin, Illinois, Iowa, and Minnesota, one of the most promising recent developments in American historiography. Particular attention is given by Mr. Fox to the *Wisconsin Domesday Book* and to the publication of the *Centennial History of Illinois* under the editorship of Clarence W. Alvord. The latter work, which is comprehensively reviewed in the second half of Mr. Fox's article, is pronounced the "latest and best example of success" in the writing of state history.

The 1921 *List of Doctoral Dissertations in History in Progress at the Chief American Universities,* published by the department of historical research of the Carnegie Institution of Washington, includes four subjects in Minnesota history and a number of others in the history of the Northwest, and in general indicates widespread cultivation of the westward movement as a field for research in American history.

Prairie Smoke, by Melvin R. Gilmore (Bismarck, 1921. 63 p.), is a "collection of lore of the prairies," containing interesting

stories and legends of the Pawnee, Dakota, Mandan, Chippewa, and other Indian tribes that inhabited North Dakota and adjacent states. A map shows the distribution of native tribes in the region of the Northwest.

An interesting group of "Ojibwa Myths and Tales," collected by Colonel G. E. Laidlaw, is printed in the *Wisconsin Archeologist* for January, 1922.

The American Ethnological Society has issued as volume 7 of its *Publications* a work in two parts entitled *Ojibwa Texts,* collected by William Jones and edited by Truman Michelson (part 1: Leyden, 1917. 501 p.; part 2: New York, 1919. 778 p.). The collection is largely based upon investigations made by Dr. Jones among Ojibway tribes north of Lake Superior from 1903 to 1906. The original Ojibway text is printed with an English translation on the opposite page.

Among recent newspaper articles dealing with Indian life is one in the *St. Paul Pioneer Press* for April 16, which discusses the origin of the Indian mounds about St. Paul and the results of various excavations made in the interests of history and science. A collection of Indian legends by Dr. Elmer E. Higley, superintendent of the Indian mission work of the Methodist Episcopal church, is discussed in the *Minneapolis Journal* for February 12. A number of interesting Chippewa stories accompany the article. How phonographic records of Indian songs are being made by Miss Frances Densmore of Red Wing is described in an article in the *Minneapolis Journal* for December 4, entitled "Minnesota Woman Saves Indian Airs."

"The story of the exploration of the American Northwest is one of the most picturesque and romantic in human annals," writes Paul Haworth in the preface to his new book, *Trailmakers of the Northwest* (New York, 1921. 277 p.). A student of the subject and an experienced traveler in the Canadian northwest, Mr. Haworth invites his reader to "become a partner of many an interesting adventurer" as he proceeds to relate the stories of the discovery of Hudson Bay and the Great Lakes, the explorations of Radisson, Hearne, and La Vérendrye, the journeys of

Mackenzie, and the adventures of Alexander Henry. The book is, as the author suggests, "an impressionistic picture of a great epic movement."

George W. Wing, in "The Coming of Jean Nicollet," an article printed in the *Kewaunee County Press* of Kewaunee, Wisconsin, for January 4, argues that, contrary to the version of Reuben Gold Thwaites, Nicolet probably made his famous landing in 1634 "at or near the principal Pottawottamie village of Kewaunee," rather than at Green Bay or any other place. "Up at Minneapolis, where their grand avenue is called 'Nicolet,'" writes Mr. Wing with some show of exasperation and misspelling, "they will tell you that he discovered the Mississippi and actually came to their town." That the suppositious "they" would make any such assertion is highly improbable, but they might inform Mr. Wing that their "grand avenue" is named, not for the intrepid explorer, Jean Nicolet, whose pistols and robe of damask astounded the Indians of the Wisconsin shore in 1634, but for one Joseph Nicolas Nicollet who lived some two hundred years later and assuredly did visit Minnesota.

Some of the discrepancies between Father Louis Hennepin's *Description of Louisiana* and his *New Discovery of a Vast Country in America,* which have caused historians to doubt the author's veracity, are pointed out in a feature article in the *Minneapolis Journal* for February 19. Included among the illustrations is a reproduction of the portrait of the explorer which was presented to the Minnesota Historical Society by Mrs. James J. Hill shortly before her death.

To his two earlier articles on Jonathan Carver and the name Oregon (see *ante,* p. 89, 182) Mr. T. C. Elliott has added a third, "Jonathan Carver's Source for the Name Oregon," published in the March number of the *Quarterly* of the Oregon Historical Society. In concluding his study, which is largely based on transcripts from the original Carver Journal now in the British Museum, Mr. Elliott writes, "Jonathan Carver was not an independent traveler or an independent writer. He did not travel to the West on his own initiative or according to his own plan, he did not travel unaccompanied, he did not travel into any

unknown country and he did not record geographical information not already known through the French. He also took the plan for his book and some of the contents thereof from the two books by Major Rogers which had been published in 1765. Of special interest is the tracing back to Major Rogers of the name Oregon."

The *Report* of the Library of Congress for 1921 (207 p.), contains a brief descriptive account of the papers of Joseph N. Nicollet which have been transferred to that institution from the office of the chief of engineers in the war department. The papers comprise a journal kept by Francis A. Chardon at Fort Clark, Iowa, from 1834 to 1837; a contemporary copy of Jean Baptiste Trudeau's description of the upper Missouri (see *ante*, p. 177); extracts from the journals of Lewis and Clark made by Nicollet; a French account of the upper Missouri region, written by Regis Loisel about 1803; and a large mass of Nicollet's astronomical observations, notes, memoranda, and diaries. Original manuscripts of his "Physical and Civil History of the West" and of two special papers are included. But "perhaps the most interesting and fascinating of the papers are Nicollet's diaries of his exploring expeditions, which are sketch maps of the country traversed, with his route marked thereon." A "Report on Transcription of Documents from French Archives," by Waldo G. Leland, is printed as an appendix to the same volume. Mr. Leland surveys concisely the results achieved since 1913, when the invaluable work of copying documents on the French régime in North America for the Library of Congress was begun. He reports further that he has almost completed his survey of French archives and manuscript collections made for the Carnegie Institution of Washington and that he has "supervised the compilation of a calendar of documents in French depositories relating to the history of the Mississippi Valley, undertaken as a coöperative enterprise of the historical agencies of that region."

Through Three Centuries: Colver and Rosenberger Lives and Times, 1620-1922, by Jesse L. Rosenberger (1922. 407 p.), is a "series of connected life-stories tracing through successive generations changes and developments from early Puritan days to

the present time." Mr. Rosenberger's autobiographical contribution is of special interest to Minnesota and Wisconsin readers for its picture of social conditions during the sixties and seventies at Lake City and Maiden Rock, on Lake Pepin.

Two interesting papers were read at the annual meeting of the Swedish Historical Society of America, held in the Historical Building, St. Paul, on November 26: "Some Footnotes on the Swedish Immigration of 1855–60," by George M. Stephenson of the University of Minnesota; and "Characteristics of the Early Swedish Immigrants to Minnesota," by Judge Andrew Holt of the state supreme court.

Svenska Baptisternas i Amerika Teologiska Seminarium, 1871–1921 (Chicago, 1921. 154 p.) is the title of a book by Professor Emanuel Schmidt issued in connection with the semi-centennial celebration of the founding of the seminary of the Swedish Baptists of America. The book gives a sketch of the history of the seminary from its establishment in Chicago in 1871 by the Reverend J. A. Edgren to its location, after many vicissitudes, at its present home in St. Paul. The institution is now known as the Bethel Theological Seminary and is a part of the Bethel Institute. The book contains the names and short biographical sketches of professors and students who have been connected with the seminary.

"The Norse Immigration Centennial," a proposed celebration in 1925 of the one hundredth anniversary of the coming of the ship "Restaurationen" with the first Norwegian immigrant group of the nineteenth century, is discussed by H. B. Kildahl in the February *American-Scandinavian Review*.

In a brief article on the "Luther College Museum," published in *Familiens Magasin* for February, Knut Gjerset describes the special museum at Luther College illustrating phases of Norwegian-American life.

Two double numbers have appeared in the *Aarbok* series of the Trönderlag, an association of persons who trace their origin to the Trondhjem district in Norway. The issues contain respectively reports upon activities in the years 1916 and 1917 (40 p.),

and 1919 and 1920 (48 p.). Accompanying the former is a sketch entitled "The Old and the New Viking Expeditions," by F. L. Trönsdal; and with the latter is a brief account of settlement by people from Trondhjem in the vicinity of Underwood, Minnesota. The *Aarbok* of the Nordfjordlag for 1921 (68 p.) prints a hasty sketch by Jacob Aalund of the movement of emigration from Nordfjord, and contains a report of the ceremonies attending the presentation in 1921 of a large gift of money, a *mindegave,* to the Norwegian district of Nordfjord.

The story of "The Old Muskego Settlement," the second settlement established by Norwegian immigrants in Wisconsin, is interestingly narrated by A. O. Barton in the November-December number of the *North Star.* The article is a revision of a paper read by Mr. Barton in 1916 before the Waukesha County Historical Society.

A Source Book and Bibliographical Guide for American Church History, by Peter G. Mode (Menasha, Wisconsin, 1921. 735 p.), is a book of unusual value. Students of western history will appreciate especially the documents illustrating the "Extension of the Church into the Middle and Farther West." A section on "Archbishop Ireland and the School Question" is of direct Minnesota interest.

One of the most interesting chapters of *Opening a Highway to the Pacific, 1838–1846,* by James C. Bell (New York, 1921. 209 p.), is entitled "Agrarian Discontent in the Mississippi Valley, 1840–1845." In it the author analyzes the agrarian situation in the area and period indicated with special reference to the Oregon movement.

A valuable summary of the history of the Granger movement, the Farmers' Alliance, the American Society of Equity, the Farmers' Union, the Nonpartisan League, and the American Farm Bureau Federation, is included in a scholarly volume on *Marketing Agricultural Products,* by Benjamin H. Hibbard (New York, 1921. 389 p.).

The Farm Bureau Movement, by Orville Merton Kile (New York, 1921. 282 p.), is the title of a study issued with the two-

fold purpose of presenting to non-agricultural groups interested in the farm bureau movement "a better understanding of its background, origin, structure and purpose," and to put before the members themselves an analysis of the strong and weak points in the organization, with a view to avoiding mistakes similar to those which "have wrought the ruin of other highly promising agricultural organizations." The book is not primarily a history, but it embodies considerable historical material, which for the most part has been culled from easily accessible secondary works. The value of the work lies in its well-organized account of the American Farm Bureau Federation and its present problems.

"Environment in the History of American Agriculture" is the title of a suggestive article by Albert Perry Brigham in the *Journal of Geography* for February.

The Indiana Historical Commission has issued as number 14 of its *Bulletins* a pamphlet entitled *Historical Markers in Indiana* [*Preliminary Announcement*] (1921. 56 p.), which lists by counties all known historical markers in that state. It appears that in twenty-nine counties there are none at all. That the bulletin "will do much toward arousing an interest throughout the state in the importance of marking other sites and spots before their exact location is lost to the knowledge of this generation," is the commendable hope of Dr. John W. Oliver, director of the commission.

"Kinds of Materials to be Preserved for Historical Purposes," by Esther U. McNitt, and "The Local Library — A Center for Historical Material," by William J. Hamilton, are the titles of two interesting papers included in the *Proceedings* of the third annual conference on Indiana history, published as number 15 of the *Bulletins* of the Indiana Historical Commission (1922. 157 p.). This conference was held in December, 1921, under the auspices of the Society of Indiana Pioneers, the Indiana Historical Society, and the Indiana Historical Commission.

The *Burton Historical Collection Leaflet,* published monthly by the Detroit Public Library, made its first appearance in January, 1922. The initial number is devoted to "Henry R. School-

craft," and consists of extracts from his "Personal Memoirs" and a few documents, presumably from the Burton Collection.

Dr. Joseph Schafer's study, "Documenting Local History," in the *Wisconsin Magazine of History* for December, should be of interest to readers of his article in this volume (see *ante*, p. 3–20). It is an essay on the town of Newton, Manitowoc County, Wisconsin, which illustrates the possible results of intensive research in local history. The number also includes an account of "The Services and Collections of Lyman Copeland Draper," by Louise Phelps Kellogg.

"Letters from the West in 1845," a series written by Stephen H. Hayes on a trip from Maine to Iowa and back in the summer of 1845, are published in the January number of the *Iowa Journal of History and Politics*. In the same issue is the third of the valuable studies of the "Internal Grain Trade of the United States 1860–1890," by Louis B. Schmidt.

A well-written article on "Old Fort Atkinson," by Bruce E. Mahan, in the *Palimpsest* for November, is of special interest to Minnesota readers for the accounts of the trip of the cavalcade of dragoons from Fort Atkinson to Traverse des Sioux in June, 1845, and of the removal of the Winnebago Indians, three years later, from northeastern Iowa to the mouth of the Watab River. The story of the "Moving of the Winnebago" is elaborated by Mr. Mahan in the February *Palimpsest*. In describing "The Way to Iowa," the same author discusses, in the October issue, the routes followed by emigrants to the West in 1840.

According to the January *Missouri Historical Review*, the State Historical Society of Missouri "ranks second in the United States in active membership compared with all state historical societies." Its active paid membership, 1,589 on January 1, 1922, represents a net gain of 579 members or 57 per cent in one year. "The true enlightened Missourian," writes the editor, "loves Missouri and her history and realizes that only thru a central historical agency can that history be disseminated."

The Louisiana Historical Society has received a gift of fifteen thousand dollars conditioned upon the use of the money "for the

preservation, arrangement, indexing and cataloging of the archives of Louisiana, now in the custody of the Louisiana Historical Society, covering the French and Spanish periods and the territorial government under the United States." A gift of this kind may lack the visible appeal of a monument carved from stone, but in many respects it is a more practical service to the history of a state, for it facilitates research in original records and thus contributes to the true understanding of the past of the commonwealth.

South Dakota Geography and History Outlines, with an Appendix on Indian Treaties and Wars, by L. P. McCain (1922. 40 p.), is a pamphlet intended for the use of students. Among the miscellaneous subjects which are outlined is the Sioux Outbreak of 1862, for which the author mentions four causes: "Chicanery in the making of the Traverse de Sioux [*sic*] and Mendota treaties," "deferred payments to the Indians," "the sinister work of the copperheads," and "Little Crow's ambition." Mr. McCain has evidently overlooked the testimony of Dr. Stephen R. Riggs who wrote, "They [*the Sioux*] were undoubtedly instigated by the devil."

A valuable contribution to the early history of the Red River country is made by L. A. Prud'homme in an article entitled "L'abbé Joseph Sévère Nicholas Dumoulin, Missionnaire à la Rivière Rouge," published in the November and January numbers of the *Revue Canadienne* of Montreal.

Under the title of "Reminiscences of an H. B. C. Fur Trade Factor," an interesting series of articles by H. V. Moberly is appearing in the *Beaver,* a monthly publication of the Hudson's Bay Company, beginning in October and reaching its thirteenth chapter in the March number. Rich with picturesque incident, the articles throw much light on phases of the Hudson's Bay Company's trade in the Canadian Northwest to the fifties. Almost every issue of the *Beaver* contains interesting historical articles. Among them may be noted "Fort Langley, Historic H. B. C. Post in British Columbia," by F. W. Howay, in the November number; "Women of H. B. C.," an account dealing with the period from 1850 to 1875, by William C. King, in the January

number; and the first installment of a study of "La Verendrye — Exploring in the Name of New France from Trois Rivieres to the Country of the Mandans," by D. C. Harvey, in the March number.

Amusing and colorful, a compound of gossip, anecdote, and local history, the *Reminiscences of a Raconteur between the '40s and the '20s,* by George H. Ham (Toronto, 1921. 330 p.), is of special interest for its impressionistic sketches of life in Winnipeg after 1875.

A brief note on the "Roller Mill in the United States," prepared by Bertha L. Heilbron, research assistant of the Minnesota Historical Society, is printed in the *Ninth Annual Report* of the Waterloo Historical Society (Kitchener, Ontario, 1921. 194 p.). An interesting field of activity for local historical societies is pointed out in a paper in the same publication on "Waterloo County Newspapers," by W. H. Breithaupt. The author states that "the Waterloo Historical Society's collection of County Newspapers is probably the largest collection of such papers in Canada."

The Family Memory Book is the title given to a loose-leaf scrapbook devised by the Mohn Printing Company of Northfield, Minnesota. It offers a convenient method of recording biographical and genealogical information which, if not recorded, soon becomes very elusive.

General Minnesota Items

An interesting series of "Historical Sketches of Minnesota" is being published in the *Minneapolis Journal,* the first one appearing in the issue for January 11. It includes articles dealing with early discovery and exploration, the Indians, the state's economic progress, and interesting items of political, social, and military history. The sketches, already more than fifty in number, are based in the main on material in the possession of the Minnesota Historical Society. Beginning with the issue of February 2, the *Weekly Valley Herald* of Chaska reprints one item of this series each week. A letter from Captain Fred A. Bill,

printed in the *Journal* on January 16, points out inaccuracies in statements regarding the date of arrival of the "Virginia at Fort St. Anthony in 1823." Incidentally Captain Bill pays his respects to the explorer Beltrami, whom he characterizes as "a versatile, courageous and venturesome cuss," but absolutely unreliable as to dates. Mr. C. H. Beaulieu writes a letter on the word "Itasca," which is printed in the *Journal* of February 19.

In an article on "The Advent of the White Men in Minnesota," contributed to the October number of the *Western Magazine* by Willoughby M. Babcock, Jr., the history of the Minnesota region during the two centuries preceding statehood is briefly outlined. In the same magazine for December Mr. Babcock describes the "Sioux Outbreak of 1857 and 1862."

Mrs. Ida Sexton Searles has issued a series of four little booklets, *Legend of St. Anthony Falls, Legend of the Moccasin Flower, Legend of the Water Lily,* and *Nopa, Legend of Shadow-Falls,* in which are presented in verse, after the manner of Longfellow, four old Indian legends of local interest. In an account of the legends, as recited by Mrs. Searles before a group of Minneapolis and St. Paul women, the *Minneapolis Journal* for February 2 states that they were originally obtained from Indians at Faribault, Cloquet, and Carlton.

The authenticity of the Kensington rune stone appears to be accepted by Dr. Benjamin Sulte in a brief chapter, "Au Mississippi en 1362," included in volume 7 of his *Mélanges Historiques* (Montreal, 1921. 163 p.), a collection of miscellaneous historical papers.

Letters written by Alpheus Fuller, who came to Minnesota in 1848, and by several of his brothers and sisters who followed him, now in the possession of Miss Abby A. Fuller of St. Paul, are the basis for an article in the *St. Paul Pioneer Press* of January 29. Passages describing pioneer conditions in St. Paul and other parts of the state are quoted.

A letter in the possession of Mr. H. N. Doyle of Alexandria, written from Watertown on August 24, 1862, by his mother's sister and telling of the writer's flight from the Indians during

the Sioux Outbreak, is published in the *Alexandria Citizen News* for December 1.

Twenty-one surviving members of the Third Minnesota Volunteer Infantry were present at the thirty-seventh annual reunion of the regimental association on September 7. In the published *Secretary's Report* (15 p.) is an historical sketch of the regiment's reunions since 1870, written by the daughter of Colonel Hans Mattson, Mrs. Luth Jaeger.

"I Seek and Find the Mississippi's Real Source," is the challenging title of a chapter in *News Hunting on Three Continents,* by Julius Chambers (New York, 1921. 405 p.). The author, a New York newspaper reporter not yet twenty-two years old, was informed by his physician in March, 1872, that if he wanted to live he must "spend three months . . . roughing it and sleeping under the stars." His interest having been aroused in explorations at the source of the Mississippi River, he decided that, if he must sleep under the stars, "it shall be in the Itasca wilderness, practically unexplored." He arranged to send a series of descriptive letters to James Gordon Bennett of the *New York Herald,* and in May, 1872, he arrived in Minnesota. Accompanied by a guide, Henri Beaulieu, he reached Lake Itasca, discovered the creek which now bears his name, and, passing through it in his canoe, floated out upon the waters of Elk Lake on June 10, 1872. To the *Herald* he wrote, "Here, then, is the source of the longest river in the world." In the chapter of his book already referred to he tells of his feelings upon entering Elk Lake in 1872: "I was wonderstricken. So was Beaulieu, who had not heard of it. It was a body of water obviously never seen by Schoolcraft, who did not enter the western arm of this three-pronged lake. Nor is this reservoir mentioned by Nicollet, making the most liberal interpretation of his language." But Jacob V. Brower, the authority on the subject, concluded, after thorough research, that Elk Lake was an arm of Itasca at the time of Nicollet's explorations in 1836. Brower considered Chambers the first to discover the lake after its separation from Itasca and the first to discover the connecting stream, named by him Chambers' Creek. He did not consider Elk Lake the ultimate

source of the Mississippi, however. That designation he gave to Hernando De Soto Lake, the waters of which, flowing through the Nicollet lakes, enter the end of the west arm of Lake Itasca. That Chambers, who started on a trip to the mouth of the Mississippi after leaving Elk Lake, has the honor of being the first man to have traveled the entire length of the great river, seems unquestionable. It should be added that Chambers died in 1920, before his book was published.

Papers relating to the activities in Congress of Cyrus Aldrich, "second member of the federal house of representatives from Minneapolis," now in the possession of Dr. and Mrs. Henry Aldrich of Minneapolis, are described in the *Minneapolis Journal* for October 9.

Some reminiscences of Mrs. Luth Jaeger, a daughter of Colonel Hans Mattson, are reprinted in the *Minneapolis Tribune* for January 8 from a jubilee edition of the *Svenska Tribunen-Nyheter*, a Chicago weekly founded by Mrs. Jaeger's father. After being dissuaded by her father from entering the newspaper profession, Mrs. Jaeger enrolled at the University of Minnesota, the first woman student of Scandinavian blood to enter that institution.

The one hundredth anniversary of the birth of Henry B. Whipple, first Episcopal bishop of Minnesota, pioneer missionary to the Indians, and founder of Shattuck School, St. Mary's Hall, Seabury Divinity School, and the Cathedral of Our Merciful Saviour, all of Faribault, was observed at that place on February 15. A brief sketch of the life and work of Bishop Whipple is published in the *Minneapolis Journal* for February 19.

The history of transportation in Minnesota appears to be a subject of perennial interest to newspaper readers. A special edition of the *Daily Journal Press* of St. Cloud, issued on November 14 in celebration of the completion of the new paved road from St. Paul to St. Cloud, contains a sketch of the history of transportation in that vicinity and reminiscences of pioneers on early methods of travel. An account of the first automobile trip made from Chicago to Minneapolis in July, 1902, based on a log book kept by the driver, Mr. Harry E. Wilcox, appears in the

Minneapolis Tribune for January 29. In its issue of February 5, the same paper publishes pictures of three early types of automobiles. The *St. Paul Pioneer Press* for March 19 contains a sketch of the evolution of the locomotive, illustrated with pictures of two of the earliest and one of the most recent models. The first locomotive operated in Minnesota, the "William Crooks," was pressed into service at a unique ceremony in celebration of the opening of the elevated tracks leading into the new Union Depot in St. Paul, accounts of which appear in the *St. Paul Dispatch* for November 21 and 22 and the *Pioneer Press* for November 20 and 22. Reminiscences of horse cars, cable lines, and the first electric cars were exchanged by members of the Veteran Employee's Club, an organization of employees of the Twin City Rapid Transit Company who have been in the service at least twenty-five years, at its meeting in Minneapolis on October 11. Notices of the meeting and accounts of the organization appear in the *St. Paul Dispatch* for October 7 and the *Minneapolis Journal* for October 9. Another article dealing with the changes in street car service in St. Paul which have been witnessed during thirty-seven years by Mr. Daniel Lawler appears in the *St. Paul Daily News* for November 27. The same paper, in its issue for October 2, contains an article, illustrated with reproductions of railroad coupons of early days, on the changes which have been made in railroad tickets in order to eliminate cheating.

Installments of the "Life and Adventures of Capt. Stephen B. Hanks," which Captain Fred A. Bill is editing for the *Saturday Evening Post* of Burlington, Iowa, continue to appear each week in that paper (see *ante*, p. 88, 189). Vivid pictures of steamboat races, fires, and wrecks, storms on treacherous Lake Pepin, tornadoes and cyclones on the river, difficulties caused by low water, and the effect of conditions in the country at large upon river traffic are presented in rapid succession. Of special value is a "retrospective view of the inception and growth of the pine lumber industry" with a list of mills along the Mississippi and St. Croix rivers in 1880, published on March 25. "Recollections of the Old River" is the title of a second autobiography of an early riverman — Captain J. M. Turner of Lansing, Iowa — which has been running in the *Post* since October 1.

The death of the aged Ojibway, "Ga-Be-Nah-Gewn-Wonce," generally known as "Wrinkled Meat," on February 7, 1922, at Cass Lake, evoked considerable discussion as to his career and especially his reputed age of 137 years. Biographical notices appear in Minneapolis and St. Paul newspapers for February 8. In the *North Woods* for March is a sketch, "Modern Methusala, 137, Passes Away at Cass Lake, Minnesota," by Otto L. Anderson. Mr. Ransom J. Powell is quoted in the *Minneapolis Journal* for February 15 as asserting that the Indian was not 137, but only 88 years old, according to Indian census records. Mr. C. H. Beaulieu, in a communication printed in the February 24 number of the same newspaper, takes issue with Mr. Powell.

Two notebooks kept by an illiterate fur-trader on the Minnesota frontier in the thirties and now preserved in the manuscript collection of the Minnesota Historical Society furnish the idea for a feature story with the title, "If the Whole World Forgot Its A B C's," in the *Minneapolis Journal* for February 26. Among several illustrations is a reproduction of one page of the fur-trade record with its curious hieroglyphic signs.

The "Original Contract for Cutting Timber — Made Between the Indians and Henry H. Sibley and Co. in 1837," is printed in the December number of the *North Woods*. The document is in the Minnesota Historical Society's collection of Sibley Papers.

An interesting illustrated article entitled "Dairy Chiefs Have Done Big 'Bit' to Boost Minnesota's Welfare," by Charles F. Collisson, in the *Minneapolis Tribune* for October 2, reviews the development of the dairying industry in the state and the services of the state dairy and food commissioners. The author quotes liberally from the writings of Theophilus L. Haecker, professor emeritus of dairy husbandry in the college of agriculture of the University of Minnesota.

The story of Cuyler Adams and the discovery and development of the Cuyuna iron range is told in the February number of the *American Magazine* in an interesting article by Neil M. Clark. Liberal quotations from it largely make up the article in the *St. Paul Pioneer Press* for January 29 which bears the alliterative

title, "Faith in Cavorting Compass Needle Led Cuyler Adams to Discover Cuyuna Range."

The development of the iron industry in Minnesota is discussed in an address entitled "Iron Industry, from Standpoint of the Miner," by Earl H. Hunner, general manager of the M. A. Hanna and Company iron mines in Minnesota and Michigan, published as an advertisement in the *Minneapolis Tribune* for January 1.

"In 1881 there was no such thing as a trained nurse in the state of Minnesota," writes Dr. C. Eugene Riggs in an article entitled "Minnesota Medicine in the Making: Personal Reminiscences," in *Minnesota Medicine* for October. Dr. Riggs traces in interesting fashion the development of the medical profession since 1881, when he came as a young physician to St. Paul. The article has been reprinted as a pamphlet (24 p.).

An interesting history of the Minnesota State Board of Health from its organization in 1872 to 1901 appears in the *St. Paul Daily News* for March 12 under the misleading title "Business Men 50 Years Ago Suffered from Overwork, State Records Show."

War History Activities

In the *Proceedings* of the sixteenth annual conference of historical societies, reported by John C. Parish (Washington, 1921. 28 p.), are published two important papers by Karl Singewald and Albert E. McKinley on the subject of "Progress in the Collection of War Records by State War History Organizations."

The Minnesota War Records Commission continues with the preparation of a volume on Minnesota in the Spanish-American War and the Philippine Insurrection. A large portion of this work is now in press. The rosters of the Minnesota volunteer regiments are finished, and the commission is completing the rosters of Minnesotans in other branches of the service and preparing the historical narrative. Material for the last-named rosters was obtained in the course of a thoroughgoing search, recently completed, of the records of the war and navy depart-

ments, which show that over 3,600 Minnesotans, at one time or another during the period covered, 1898 to 1902, served in the army, navy, marine corps, or volunteer organizations other than those furnished in the name of the state. It appears also that certain units — such as the Third United States Infantry, Company G of the Second United States Volunteer Engineers, and the Forty-fifth United States Volunteer Infantry — included considerable numbers of Minnesotans; and for this and other reasons the commission has made transcripts of war department records relating to the history of these units during the period under study.

The commission recently acquired the custody of two important files of World War history material: one, from the state auditor, consisting of original records of the farm crop and labor census of 1917–18; and the other, from the adjutant general of the state, consisting of photostatic copies of all the Minnesota draft induction lists, the originals of which are filed in the government archives at Washington.

An early decision of the Hennepin County War Records Committee not to attempt the publication of a county war history has made it possible for that body to devote its entire efforts to the building up of a county war records collection which will furnish unusually complete and authoritative information with respect, particularly, to the war services of individuals. Items in the committee's file of some 24,000 military service records compiled from official sources are now being compared with records in a corresponding, though less extensive, file of Hennepin County service men's own written statements in the office of the state commission, and variations or additional data are being recorded on the former, or official, records. The committee is also reproducing for its own files the state commission's photostatic copies of the Hennepin County draft registration and induction lists. A few additions have been made to the gold star roll; the list of nurses and other welfare workers now numbers over six hundred names; and a special canvass of local civilian war leaders is in progress.

Following recommendations made by the chairman, Mr. William E. Culkin, in his annual report for the year 1921, the St. Louis County branch of the Minnesota War Records Commission has modified its original plan for publishing a comprehensive county war history in one volume and has decided simply to continue the work of collecting the county war records "with a view to the preservation of said records for public use and the publication for free distribution of such portions thereof as shall be deemed advisable." If the chairman's recommendations are followed in detail, the committee will publish a volume containing portraits and biographies of those who lost their lives in the service and, possibly, a roster of all who served. A small volume of personal narratives may also be issued, depending upon the cost. In the meantime the collection of material covering all phases of the general subject goes forward.

Completion of the roster of local service men to be included in the Ramsey County War Records Committee's projected county war history is delayed pending the receipt by the state commission of official statements of the services of army officers, which, it is expected, will be furnished by the war department in the near future. For some months the committee has been depending entirely upon the voluntary efforts of its officers and others, keeping its funds intact for use when the time is ripe for publication. Appeals for additional local war history material continue to meet with occasional response: Mr. Swen Bernard of St. Paul, for example, has presented a noteworthy collection of war letters, photographs, and other personal records which he gathered at the expense of much time and effort among friends and acquaintances.

The Rice County War Records Committee, having undertaken and persisted in the carrying out of an exceptionally broad program, is one of the few committees in the rural counties which still continue active. Under the leadership of Mr. Frank M. Kaisersatt of Faribault, who is a member of the state commission, the committee has renewed its efforts to complete a collection which now includes, among other things, photographs in triplicate of some seven hundred of the local service men. An account of the work of the committee from the beginning, to-

gether with bits of local war history, appears in the "Armistice Day Edition" of the *Faribault Daily News,* published on November 8.

Memorials in honor of members who saw service in the World War have been unveiled in the Church of the Redeemer, the Hennepin Avenue Methodist Church, and the Westminster Presbyterian Church of Minneapolis, and in St. John's Episcopal Church of St. Paul, according to reports in the *Minneapolis Journal* for October 16 and November 6, and in the *St. Paul Dispatch* for November 24.

"D. A. R. Shaft Will Honor Ramsey County Heroes of World War" is the title of a brief article in the *St. Paul Pioneer Press* in which are discussed the plans of the St. Paul chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution for honoring, with a shaft of native granite to be erected in Shadow Falls Park, the service men and women of the county. A four-page leaflet has been issued containing a sketch of the proposed memorial.

Local History Items

Plans of the Northern Minnesota Historical Society, which was organized on June 20, 1921, at Bemidji, are discussed under the caption "Historical Society to Preserve Old Papers," in the *Bemidji Daily Pioneer* for November 26. A considerable collection of Beltrami County newspapers, preserved by Mrs. L. H. Bailey of Bemidji, has become the property of the new society and is apparently to be kept in the Bemidji Public Library.

That interest in local history is growing is evident in the columns of newspapers published in the smaller Minnesota towns. An account of the birth and infancy of Morris, based upon information published in 1876 in *Frontier Business,* the city's pioneer newspaper, appears in the *Morris Tribune* for November 4. Walter Stone Pardee compares the Monticello of 1877 with that of 1921 in the *Monticello Times* for November 3. The first two articles of a series entitled "Early Days in Le Sueur," by Bertha L. Heilbron, are published in the issues of the *Le Sueur Herald* for March 22 and 29. The *Mankato Free Press* for Octo-

ber 29 prints an address delivered before the Men's Club of St. John's Episcopal Church by H. C. Hotaling, in which he recalls "boyhood days that were coupled with the early history of the church." Beginning on December 30, the *Blue Earth County Enterprise* of Mapleton publishes regularly under the heading "Six Decades Ago in Blue Earth County" extracts from the Minnesota Historical Society's file of old Mankato newspapers which illustrate conditions in the sixties. The *Murdock Leader* also prints, somewhat irregularly, a column of "News Twenty Years Ago."

Many interesting items of local history are included in an article on the Caleff family of Bluff Landing or Nininger, by John H. Case, which appears in the *Hastings Gazette* for December 30. In the issue of October 21 is published a biographical sketch of Irving Todd, for fifty-five years the editor of the paper.

"En Pioneer" is the title of a brief sketch in volume 14, number 9 of *Nordmandsforbundet* dealing with the career of Vegger Gulbrandsen, a Norwegian pioneer who came to Minnesota in 1856. Mr. Gulbrandsen amplifies and translates this sketch of himself in a letter printed in the *Albert Lea Community Magazine* for February under the title, "First Settlers in Freeborn County."

The fiftieth anniversary of the completion of the building of Christ Episcopal Church of Red Wing was observed on December 18 and 19 with special services and a parish reunion. *An Historical Sketch of Christ Church Parish, Red Wing, Minnesota, From Its Organization in 1858 to 1921* (64 p.), issued in commemoration of the event, includes pictures of the old church built in 1859, of the present building erected in 1871, and of all the clergymen who have served as rectors. Historical sketches of the church and accounts of its semicentennial celebration appear in the *Red Wing Daily Republican* for December 15, 17, 18, 19, and 20, the same paper's weekly edition for December 21, the *Minneapolis Journal* for December 11, and the *St. Paul Pioneer Press* for November 27.

An interesting feature of the Stevens County Memorial Armory at Morris, which was dedicated on November 10, is the collec-

tion of relics of the World War which was installed by the local war records committee. This collection consists of articles of military equipment, service badges, war posters, pictures, pamphlets, and other items. The inclusion of Morris newspaper files running back to the first newspaper printed in that city — in 1876 — adds to the general value of the collection and suggests a way in which all local historical museums in Minnesota could help to preserve records which are of importance not only to the locality but to the state at large. At the dedication exercises an address was delivered by Governor J. A. O. Preus and an historical paper on "Morris Fifty Years Ago" was read by Chief Justice Calvin Brown. The organization of a Stevens County historical society has been undertaken by a group of interested persons and in November a constitution essentially like that published in the present number of the BULLETIN was adopted and officers were elected. Stevens County offers excellent opportunities for local history activity and it is to be hoped that the new organization will stimulate historical interest throughout the county and achieve the purposes for which it was founded.

The history of the Farmers' Alliance and of the Nonpartisan League in Otter Tail County is the subject of an article by Elmer E. Adams in the *Fergus Falls Daily Journal* for February 27 and 28. "Otter Tail's Only Lynching" is described by the same author in the *Journal* for March 11.

An illustrated article, by Amy R. Enerson, on the pipestone quarry region of southwestern Minnesota, which includes a description of its geography, brief mention of early explorations, and an account of some of the Indian legends connected with the vicinity, is published in the *Minneapolis Tribune* for November 20.

The First Visit to the Head of the Lakes of Jay Cooke in 1867 is the subject of a leaflet issued by the American Exchange National Bank of Duluth (7 p.). It contains reminiscences by George M. Smith, who as a boy conveyed Cooke in a boat from Superior up the shore of the bay to Duluth and back. The dedication of a statue of Jay Cooke at Duluth on October 15 was the occasion for considerable newspaper discussion of the

part played by the famous financier in Minnesota affairs. In the *St. Paul Dispatch* for October 13 and the *St. Paul Pioneer Press* for October 16 are articles on the subject, the latter accompanied by illustrations. An address by Howard Elliott which was delivered at the dedication exercises has appeared in pamphlet form with the title *Jay Cooke, Duluth, and the Northern Pacific Railway Company* (15 p.).

The Hibbing Daily News and the Mesaba Ore for October 1 is a "Grand Opening and Historical Edition" (88 p.), issued in celebration of the completion of the "moving of Hibbing" and the opening of the town's new business section. It contains a wealth of historical material, including biographies of pioneers, brief histories of the schools, the churches, and the public library, an historical sketch of the government of the village, and the story of the "discovery of iron ore on the Mesaba Range." Of special interest is an outline of the early history of Hibbing reprinted from the *Mesaba Ore,* in which paper it was published on August 22, 1903, to commemorate the tenth anniversary of the founding of the village.

A paper read by Captain Fred A. Bill at the meeting of the Read's Landing Association in Minneapolis on February 25 on "The Building of a School House" gives a brief survey of the history of Read's Landing and of education there to 1870, when the schoolhouse under discussion was built. Captain Bill's paper is published in full in the *Wabasha Herald* and the *Wabasha Standard* for March 2, and articles based upon it appear in the *Minneapolis Journal* and the *St. Paul Pioneer Press* for February 26.

The meeting of the Winona County Old Settlers' Association in Winona on February 22 was the occasion for an article in the *Winona Republican-Herald* of that date entitled "Old Buildings Recall Days of Winona's Youth." It records the results of a survey "by old settlers for old settlers" of historic structures in the town, including old churches, schools, hotels, business places, and residences. Photographs of Winona in 1889 and of its oldest schoolhouse and oldest church illustrate the article. The same paper in its issue for February 24 prints a letter from Mr.

Orrin F. Smith in which he takes issue with statements made regarding the oldest school.

Twin City papers recently have been publishing in their Sunday issues some interesting series of articles dealing with local historical subjects. R. D. McCord is the author of one, appearing under the general title "What's in Our Names?" in the *St. Paul Pioneer Press* from October 30 to January 29 — a series consisting mainly of biographical sketches of individuals for whom St. Paul streets are named. Among the subjects of these interesting and well-written accounts are Pierre Parrant, Father Lucian Galtier, Louis Robert, Mrs. Henry Jackson, Harriet Bishop, Henry M. Rice, James M. Goodhue, "Waapashaw," Aaron Goodrich, Norman W. Kittson, John R. Irvine, and Lyman Dayton. Articles on St. Paul churches, some of which include historical sketches, appear in the *St. Paul Daily News* from October 30 to February 19. Short illustrated articles descriptive of St. Paul in bygone days are published in the *News* from November 20 to February 19 under the title "Do You Remember When — ?" A similar series about Minneapolis appears in the *Minneapolis Journal* from January 15 to March 26.

To commemorate the passing of twenty-five years since the founding of the St. Paul Credit Men's Association, the history of that organization is outlined in the *St. Paul Pioneer Press* for December 25. A sketch of the Minneapolis Builders Exchange, occasioned by its twentieth anniversary, appears in the *Minneapolis Tribune* for March 19.

The *Minneapolis Journal* of October 4 presents an appeal made by Mr. Edwin Clark, secretary of the Hennepin County Territorial Pioneers' Association, for the "establishment of a permanent fund to finance the care and upkeep of the Godfrey House." A brief history of the house, which is the oldest in Minneapolis, is included, and pictures of it in its present and original locations appear with the article.

A letter dated June 15, 1858, and supposedly written by G. W. Magee, in which the writer gives his impressions of St. Anthony and Minneapolis, was recently discovered in an old residence in Waterloo, New York. It is written on a letterhead bearing an

early woodcut of St. Anthony. A reproduction of the cut in the *Minneapolis Journal* for October 2 is accompanied by quotations from the letter.

Changes in the names of Minneapolis streets furnish the theme for an article in the *Minneapolis Journal* for January 22, based upon an 1855 official map of the city.

A sketchy article on the sheriffs of Hennepin County in the *Minneapolis Tribune* for November 6 is illustrated with photographs of eighteen of the twenty-two men who have served in that capacity.

Sections of a report analyzing the growth and development of government in Minneapolis, prepared by the Bureau of Municipal Research of the Minneapolis Civic and Commerce Association, are published in the *Members Bulletin* of the association in five installments, beginning with the issue of February 13. The first gives a brief outline of the governmental history of Minneapolis; this is followed by an analysis of the seven charters which have been proposed since 1898; the third and fourth installments deal with the changes which have taken place in the government of Minneapolis since 1872; and in the fifth the present city government is discussed. The *Minneapolis Tribune* reprints the second and third installments in its issues of February 23 and March 1.

The first page of a "copy of a long defunct newspaper," the *Minneapolis Evening News* for June 20, 1871, is reproduced with an article about its contents in the *Minneapolis Journal* for October 30. Another early Minneapolis publication, the city directory for 1867, furnishes the material for an article in the *Journal* of February 19. The book is erroneously classed as the city's second directory, when, in fact, two earlier volumes were published.

How the tide of commercial expansion has caused the business section of Minneapolis to enlarge at the expense of a succession of exclusive residential districts is the subject of an interesting article in the *Minneapolis Tribune* for March 5.

History of the First Swedish Baptist Church, Minneapolis, Minnesota, Fifty Years 1871–1921 (Minneapolis, 1921. 87 p.) is the title of an unusually good congregational history.

A biographical sketch of Mr. Thomas B. Walker, describing his contributions to the cultural and industrial development of Minneapolis during his sixty years of residence there, is published in the *Minneapolis Journal* for January 1. Brief biographical sketches of Mr. John M. Hazen, a resident of Minnesota since 1858 and of Minneapolis since 1871, and of Dr. James Hosmer, author, historian, and first librarian of the Minneapolis Public Library, appear in the *Minneapolis Tribune* for October 2 and January 29.

A contribution to the cultural history of Minneapolis is made by Frank A. Carle in an article published in the *Minneapolis Tribune* for December 4 in which the benefactions of Clinton Morrison and Mrs. Ethel Morrison Van Derlip to the Minneapolis Institute of Arts are appreciatively reviewed. A portrait of Mrs. Van Derlip, who died on November 21, accompanies the article.

The twentieth anniversary of the establishment by George D. Dayton of the firm in Minneapolis which bears his name is the occasion for articles in the *Minneapolis Journal* and the *Minneapolis Tribune* for February 5. The former quotes Mr. Dayton extensively on the subject of the "First Big Venture 'Beyond Seventh' Made 20 Years Ago." In "Twenty Years After," a twelve-page booklet issued by the Dayton Company, are portrayed early scenes in the history of Minneapolis.

A reunion of three original settlers and numerous descendants of the founders of the "Anderson Settlement" in Eden Prairie Township of Hennepin County, was held at the home of Miss Emma Anderson of Minneapolis on March 25. A brief history of the settlement appears in the *Minneapolis Tribune* for March 26.

Among the subjects dealt with by Benjamin Backnumber during the past six months in his sketches of "St. Paul Before This," which appear in the Sunday issues of the *St. Paul Daily News,* are the following: the Wabasha Street Bridge, November 13; a "Previous Streetcar Fare Raise" in 1877, October 2; how "Diamond Jo" obtained his nickname, October 30; Mrs. Alexander Hamilton's visit to Fort Snelling in 1838, November 27;

the "Legend of White Bear," March 12; Julius A. Truesdell, December 11; Colonel Alvaren Allen, January 15; Louis Fisher, February 12; Patrick H. Kelly, March 19; some incidents in the early political career of Cushman K. Davis, January 22; "How Davis Became Governor," December 25; the constitutional conventions of 1857, February 19; "Three Governors at Once" in 1858, March 26; and the senatorial elections of 1863 and 1865, February 5 and March 5.

Whether certain portions of old St. Paul can be restored to their former glory is a problem which is dealt with in illustrated feature articles, by Earl Christmas and Elliott Tarbell respectively, in the issues of the *St. Paul Daily News* for November 13 and February 5. The occasion for the first article, which revives memories of Third Street as the city's chief business thoroughfare, is the present plan to make it one of the chief approaches to the new Union Depot. A description of the profitable and "picturesque freight and passenger traffic" which came to St. Paul via the Mississippi River in the early days is included in the second article. Here the author points out that "St. Paul may again become port for river packets" if the proposed harbor improvements are completed.

The *St. Paul Pioneer Press* for December 18 publishes an article by Jay W. Ludden on the occupation of the old House of Hope Presbyterian Church in St. Paul by the Goodwill Industries. An interesting sketch of the early history of the church is included.

Accounts of the celebration of the seventieth anniversary of the founding of the Central Presbyterian Church of St. Paul are printed in the *St. Paul Pioneer Press* for February 20 and the *St. Paul Daily News* for February 19 and the fiftieth anniversary of Unity Church is noted in the *Pioneer Press* for February 25. The fiftieth anniversary of Cretin High School of St. Paul is the subject of an article in the same newspaper for November 20.

The procedure by which he secured the new commercial postal station for St. Paul is set forth by Otto N. Raths, former postmaster in that city, in the *St. Paul Dispatch* for November 18.

The history of the old Army Building in St. Paul, once the headquarters for the Department of Dakota, is outlined in the *St. Paul Dispatch* for October 20.

A series of "Little Glimpses of Saint Paul's Musical History" appear weekly in the *St. Paul Pioneer Press* from October 16 to January 1 in connection with advertisements of the piano department of a department store. Reminiscences of four charter members of the Apollo Club, a Minneapolis musical organization which has been active since 1895, are published in the *Minneapolis Journal* for December 4.

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MINNESOTA HISTORY BULLETIN

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WHEN MINNESOTA WAS A PAWN OF INTERNATIONAL POLITICS[1]

Were I asked what region of the world's surface was best prepared by nature for human habitation, I should pass over such densely populated areas as Egypt, the Rhine Valley, and other places made famous by centuries of history and claim this honor for a region that has been occupied by white men only a few generations. Undoubtedly your self-complacency has already suggested to you my answer, at least in part. Yes, your city of Duluth is at one end of the region, but, if the whole extent of the territory I have in mind was favored by Minnesota's cold winters, I fear I should hesitate about selecting it. In my humble opinion, however, the valley of the St. Lawrence River and of the Great Lakes by climate, by fertility of soil, by mineral wealth, and by facility of transportation is the most blessed region on the earth's surface. How quickly man has realized its wealth is proved by the string of great cities which have sprung up over night like those large puffballs that are found in our woods. The list of them is a proof of my contention: Quebec, Montreal, Toronto, Rochester, Buffalo, Toledo, Cleveland, Detroit, Chicago, Milwaukee, and Duluth, not to mention many other beautiful and wealthy cities which are disappointed by the official figures of the census report.

Today the value of every acre of this region is easily recognized, and I can imagine the howl of protest should it be proposed to give a few square miles on the American side to the Dominion of Canada for the purpose of rectifying the bound-

[1] Read at the state historical convention under the auspices of the Minnesota Historical Society at Duluth, July 28, 1922, and at a meeting of the executive council of the society on October 9, 1922. The original title of the paper was "How Minnesota Was Saved from the British, 1783–1818."

ary. If the present British prime minister should have the hardihood to suggest such a measure, it would be well for him to make preparations for war, for nothing short of blood could wash out such an insult.

This evening we are to consider a period in the history of this region when its value as a place of human habitation was not yet recognized and the alienation of thousands of square miles could be proposed to American officials by British ministers without giving great offense and even with some assurance of consideration. Yes, even men of high position in the American government were willing to second such proposals. What were a few thousand square miles of wilderness between friends? In order to understand this attitude we must eliminate from our minds all that knowledge which has become a part of our consciousness during the last hundred years or more and try to look at international problems touching the western part of America with that same ignorance of coming events as blinded the men of the generation which watched the eighteenth century pass over into the nineteenth.

If you want a plumb line to fathom the typical mind of the eighteenth century, you can find none better than in the sayings and writings of the great Dr. Samuel Johnson, the lexicographer, whose daily opinion has been preserved for us by the greatest of all biographers, James Boswell. At one time, just before the outbreak of the American Revolution, the inimitable Samuel wrote a pamphlet about Canada and the West, which had been won for the British Empire by the French and Indian War. He wrote that "large tracts of America were added by the last war to the British dominions," but that they were at best "only the barren parts of the continent, the refuse of the earlier adventurers, which the French, who came last, had taken only as better than nothing." [2]

[2] *Works*, 5:414 (London, 1825).

Here is another statement. This was written in 1789 by William Knox, who had lived many years in America and probably knew North America as well as any contemporary Englishman. He prophesied that the Americans could not settle the western territory for ages and that for this reason it must be given up to barbarism like the plains of Asia and the population would be as unsettled as the Scythians and the Tartars.[3] Do you men and women of Minnesota recognize yourselves in the Scythians and the Tartars? I have no doubt some of our friends from Massachusetts and New York would find the simile very just when they think of our Nonpartisan League, our Farm Bloc, and our insistence on a deep waterway from Duluth for ocean-going vessels.

Few Americans had a clearer conception of the future of the West than did Benjamin Franklin. He had studied its every feature in his desire to participate in its colonization; he was a partner in three colonial schemes; he had studied the growth of population most carefully and had a vision of our future greatness. Even Franklin, for all his study and wisdom, thought it would be "some centuries" before the population would number a hundred million.[4]

You perceive then that our present-day appreciation of the value of the Great Lakes region and the Mississippi Valley cannot be read back into the eighteenth century, for if it is, we shall become hopelessly confused. We shall become angry at the British for making what appears to our present-day understanding preposterous demands, and we shall wrongfully condemn American officials who were ready to make concessions in the interests of peace. As I have already said we must force our view of the West into conformity with that of an eighteenth-century man, who might well have declared: "What are a few thousand miles of wilderness between

[3] William Knox, *Extra Official State Papers*, 2:49 (London, 1789).
[4] *Writings*, 4:55 (Smyth edition, New York and London, 1905–07).

friends?" He could not look into the future and behold in a gazing crystal the beautiful cities located throughout the West; the crystal did not reveal a wealthy metropolis spreading itself over the muddy banks of the Chicago River; nor did it show to him the sturdy form of Henry Ford and his city of "flivvers." These things have come into being, but our forefathers could not imagine them.

In the game of diplomatic poker in which these golden acres of the Great Lakes region and the upper valley of the Mississippi were the chips, the Americans opened the first jack pot. The player for our side was Benjamin Franklin and all he held was a pair of jacks and a monumental bluff. It was in the year 1782 when the war in America was languishing. Lord North had been replaced by an ardent friend of humanity and a sincere admirer of Franklin, Lord Shelburne. Like Franklin, Shelburne dreamed of universal peace and the millenium brought about by the preponderance of business men in world politics. The preponderance of financial interests has come, but we are seemingly far from the dream of these eighteenth-century philosophers.

When Shelburne sent his friend Richard Oswald to Paris to discuss the terms of peace with Franklin, the two soon agreed that the basis of peace should be safety from future conflicts and disputes. At this point Franklin opened the famous jack pot. He pointed out that in a new country like America danger of disagreement would always come from the back countries, where dwelt lawless pioneers, whose disputes would be a constant source of international bickerings. His proposal was, therefore, that England give up to the United States not only all the West but also all Canada and thus do away once for all with dangerous boundary disputes. The audacity of the proposal can be appreciated when you realize that at the time British troops occupied forts on the lakes from Niagara to Mackinac and that their Indian and white partisans roamed at will as far south as the Ohio River. The Ameri-

cans occupied Pittsburgh and had settlements in Kentucky as far west as Louisville, but on the north side of the Ohio there were no American troops, although there were a few spies at Kaskaskia and Vincennes. Nor had the colonists ever exercised dominion over this vast region except for the small territory in the Illinois country south of the Illinois River, which was occupied by George Rogers Clark's troops during the years 1778 to 1780. Strangely enough, there seems to be evidence that Lord Shelburne considered this proposal of Franklin's, although it never again came to diplomatic discussion. Its influence may have remained, however, as an active force in the British minister's mind, if we may judge from the outcome. It soon became evident that there were influences at work in Spain and France, also parties to the peace negotiations, which might throw all the territory bounded by the Ohio and the Mississippi into the lap of the British Empire. There is no doubt that the British negotiators could have easily drawn the boundary line at the Ohio, had they so wished. Here then were the two extremes: America to have all British Canada and the West, on the one hand; Great Britain to retain all Canada and the region that we call the Old Northwest, on the other hand. Neither American nor British negotiators expected one or the other. A compromise line was in the minds of both.

The first line proposed by the American commissioners and accepted tentatively by the British ministry had an historical basis which I have no time to discuss. It followed approximately the present line in the East to where the forty-fifth parallel touches the St. Lawrence River, then it ran northwest to Lake Nipissing, and thence westward to the Mississippi. This would have placed most of Ontario in the United States, but would have thrown into Canada all the territory north of approximately the southern bank of Lake Superior. The people of northern Minnesota just missed being born "Canucks."

The record is not sufficiently clear to show the forces which led to the reopening of the question about the line. There have been several suggested interpretations, but I am not going to enter into the intricacies of a dispute that has an interest only to the academic mind. But it is time to turn our attention from the exchange of gentlemanly notes by diplomats and investigate a certain Ethiopian gentleman who was mixed up in some way with the supply of fuel. His outcries disturbed undoubtedly the peace negotiations. His name was Business, spelled with a big *B,* and he was to be a disturbing force in all the relations of the British Empire and the United States for a couple of generations, in fact until the boundary line was run way across the continent to the Pacific.

I have said that no one could foresee the immediate value of these northwestern acres for settlement. They were wilderness and that ended it. There were, however, some men who were directly interested financially in the wilderness and wanted it to remain in its primitive condition in perpetuity. These were the fur-traders. They knew that settlement and fur-trading were incompatible. But we are particularly interested in their business, because in their eyes the basin of the Great Lakes was extremely valuable. Here was the home of the fur trade with western centers at Detroit and Mackinac, whence fleets of canoes and Mackinac boats went south, west, and north, many canoes finding their way into the most distant Canadian Northwest by means of the Grand Portage. To these men the location of the boundary line was a weighty consideration. A few thousands of square miles of land might mean nothing, but when the area consisted of valuable fur-raising territory, that was a different matter.

At the time of which we are speaking the most frequented fur land lay around the southern lakes, whence came fifty per cent of American furs. A large band of Canadian traders was accustomed to leave Mackinac in the fall for the Chicago

River portage and buy furs from the Potawatomi, Fox, and Sauk Indians in the region north of the Illinois River. The land lying between Lake Erie and Lake Michigan was still an important hunting ground. A few years later these more southern haunts were esteemed less valuable as the regions both to the north and on the upper Missouri became more widely known. But you must remember that the territory around the southern lakes was in 1782 still held in very high esteem for the fur trade or you will misunderstand the negotiations for peace and later events.

The fur-traders were not without political influence. Many important merchants of London, Bristol, and the Scottish ports were directly interested financially in these far western speculations. They were the suppliers of the Canadian merchants who in turn outfitted the fur-traders. There was thus a close bond uniting the man trading among the Minnesota lakes and the British firms. And needless to say these British firms had personal relations with members of Parliament.

There was in this case a more powerful and politically more direct line of influence than the foregoing implies. The Canadian fur trade was in the hands of Scotchmen. If you are to understand the intricacies of international relations between Great Britain and the United States between 1782 and 1818, you must have a realization of Scotch political influence. When England and Scotland were united politically in 1707, there were assigned to the northern country forty-five members of the House of Commons. Not a large number, but we have experienced in our politics the influence wielded by a small bloc, and forty-five votes if united form a power in any legislative body. The Scotch forty-five furnish one of the most illuminating examples in history of the power of such a bloc. For over a hundred years these forty-five members voted as a unit with every administration. So consistent was the voting that one facetious member of this

Scottish cohort said — this occurred late in the eighteenth century — that the king should always choose as the Scottish leader, that is as lord advocate, a tall man, so that Scottish members could see, when there was a division, how they were expected to vote. In the eighteenth century members of Parliament did not generally give their vote except for an equivalent. Of course, we have become more moral. The Scotch asked and received their pay. Scotchmen entered into office all over the empire. A very large percentage of British officials in the American colonies were from the land of heather. The East India Company was amenable to political influence and the government of Great Britain's far eastern dependency has practically been molded by Scotchmen. Lord Shelburne's ministry in 1782 could not have lasted a day without those forty-five Scotch votes. Do you catch a distinct view of that "nigger in the woodpile" of whom I spoke? The fur-trading fraternity of Scotland exercised its influence, and, although the British ministry had already agreed on one line, the question had to be reopened.

The next information we have is that the American commissioners were obliged to propose two lines, one of which was to be selected by the British ministry as the final boundary. One of these is the present boundary through the middle of the lakes. The alternative proposed was the forty-fifth parallel of latitude from the Connecticut River westward to the Mississippi. Had this latter been selected the southern half of Ontario would have fallen to the United States, but Canada would have been given the upper parts of Michigan, of Wisconsin, and of Minnesota east of the Mississippi River, namely, the great ore-bearing territory. To be more specific, the campus of the University of Minnesota would have lain south of the proposed line, but all north of it would have been in the territory of our neighbor. The importance of the final choice of the British ministry may be understood in the light of later events. More than the iron mines were at

stake. The delimitation of the territory west of the Mississippi River was to become a vital issue during the first half of the nineteenth century. Had our northern boundary east of that river been the forty-fifth parallel the British would have had a strong argument for the continuance of it farther west. The home of the Nonpartisan League might have been Canadian; but before the drawing of the Trans-Mississippi boundary became an issue the forty-ninth parallel had secured force by the weight of tradition, and both countries acted on the assumption, without much investigation, that it was the historical boundary.

The arguments that led to the selection by the British of the middle of the lakes line is apparent. The fur-traders wished to retain their rights and property on Lakes Ontario and Erie and that desire was the paramount influence in the period under discussion. Thus the present boundary was selected. The British permitted contemporary interests to outweigh future considerations.

After the preliminaries were signed — November, 1782 — and the knowledge of the boundary agreed upon became more generally extended among the fur-trading gentry, there was a very loud uproar. Niagara gone, Detroit gone, Mackinac and Green Bay gone, the Grand Portage gone. Nothing seemed left. This indignation was stronger because it was known that with the help of Spain and the silence of France a much more favorable boundary could have been secured. Lord Shelburne was now out of office; his work in the interest of future peace was done; and his former opponents were obliged to complete the treaty and to defend it against criticism. During the course of the defense there was developed by means of political propaganda the belief that on account of the stubbornness of the American commissioners the settled boundary was forced upon the British ministry. Such was the defense that was made in Parliament and it was generally accepted by the public. This purely political explanation will

not satisfy the demands for truth made by the critical historian, however. There were, of course, many forces at work during the treaty negotiations; but in the final determination of the boundary line we must give the greatest credit to those two lovers of humanity, Lord Shelburne and Benjamin Franklin.

Shelburne in 1797, after the British finally evacuated the lake ports, explained his attitude at the time of the treaty negotiations to a friend in Philadelphia in the following words: "I must express to you the satisfaction I have felt in seeing the forts given up. I may tell you in confidence what may astonish you, as it did me, that up to the very last debate in the House of Lords, the Ministry did not appear to comprehend the policy upon which the boundary line was drawn, and persist in still considering it as a measure of necessity not of choice. However it is indifferent who understands it. The deed is done; and a strong foundation laid for eternal amity between England and America." [5]

So many were the influences brought to bear upon the ministry of Lord North and Fox, which succeeded that of Lord Shelburne, that negotiations were started for a commercial treaty by which some of the loss sustained in the treaty of peace might be repaired. These failed, and it was decided to postpone the negotiations to a later day. The delay was to last eleven years. Meanwhile the British ministry attempted to save the fur-traders from losses by not fulfilling the agreement to withdraw British troops from the lake forts at Niagara, Detroit, and Mackinac. In fact orders to that purpose were sent to Canada at the time the definitive treaty with the United States was signed. Excuses for this evasion of the stipulation of the treaty were easy to find in the failure of the United States to secure for British merchants the payment of past debts and in the mistreatment of the loyalists.

[5] Edmond Fitzmaurice, *Life of William, Earl of Shelburne . . . With Extracts from his Papers and Correspondence*, 2:202 n. (London 1912).

These were mere excuses. The retention of the posts on the lakes was prolonged in accordance with the wishes of the fur-traders, who insisted on the need of time to wind up their business in the West. But instead of curtailing their enterprises the Canadian merchants extended them during the next few years, while British ministers consistently refused to take up the question of the postponed commercial treaty or to consider the withdrawal of the troops from the territory of the United States.

Thus endeth the first lesson. I have dwelt somewhat at length over this first episode in the history of the northwest boundary because it was necessary to explain the various forces that affected the situation. It will be possible to pass in review the later developments more speedily.

A new force arose immediately after the treaty was made and was to increase in importance as the years passed by. The influx of American settlers into the Ohio Valley threatened the life of the fur trade, but their settlements offered another advantage to British merchants and manufacturers. New York, Philadelphia, Baltimore, and New Orleans were competing for the profits to be made by supplying these settlements of the new West with merchandise. In many ways Canadians had an advantage. British goods were cheaper and better, and the water communication via the St. Lawrence and the Great Lakes was excellent. By 1783 Canadian merchants were trading with Kentucky; and this new business increased with surprising rapidity, so that it had become a factor of importance in the minds of more than one British minister. It was bound in time to become the controlling force in the policy toward Canada and the West. It, therefore, behooved British politicians to find some pretext for permanently holding Niagara, Detroit, and the other lake posts, or so to change the northern boundary as to give Canada direct communication with the Mississippi Valley. Recognizing the necessity of conforming to the stipulations

of the treaty concerning the lakes, the policy of the British from about the year 1792 till after the treaty of Ghent, which closed the War of 1812, was directed to changing the northern boundary in order to secure for Canada the desired connection with the growing population within the Mississippi Valley.

The British and American commissioners who negotiated the treaty of Paris in 1783 did not carry with them a boatload of experts, mostly professors, to furnish them with the necessary information concerning the countries involved. Had they done so, possibly one egregious blunder might have been avoided. In the second article of the treaty is contained the delimitation of the boundary. It ran from Grand Portage through Rainy Lake to the northwestern corner of the Lake of the Woods and thence westward to the Mississippi. Of course, the line from the Lake of the Woods was impossible, as the source of the Mississippi lay well to the south. There was thus left a gap of approximately 175 miles in the boundary. The mistake was due to a fault in the map which was used.

The necessity of correcting this error was utilized by the British as an excuse for reopening the question of the boundary. George Hammond, the British minister to Philadelphia, learned of this error at the time that the Americans were beseeching for a commercial treaty and for the withdrawal of British troops from American posts on the lakes. Hammond immediately saw the value of this opening and talked the matter over with his friend, Alexander Hamilton, the secretary of the treasury. The relations of the United States with European countries were at the moment complicated by the French Revolution, and these international affairs intensified party enmity in the states. Thomas Jefferson, the secretary of state, favored France, whereas Hamilton believed that the young country's best interests would be served by

drawing close to England in the war which threatened. He was therefore ready to listen favorably to Hammond's argument.

This was as follows: The eighth article of the treaty of peace guaranteed England's right to the navigation of the Mississippi River. The clause was inserted in the treaty when there was some chance that England would retain possession of East and West Florida and would therefore be interested in the navigation of the river at its mouth. This reservation had no connection with the boundary article, which was number 2. Hammond proposed that the northern boundary be so modified that British subjects could reach the navigable waters of the Mississippi, or in other words that the boundary line be run southward to below the Falls of St. Anthony.

Alexander Hamilton believed that there was brewing a war with Spain and that it would be advisable for the United States to purchase England as an ally by a concession of these four thousand square miles. On October 31, 1792, in a cabinet meeting he advocated just such a measure. He proposed giving to England the territory desired, and he was aided and abetted by his faithful and not too intelligent follower, Henry Knox, the secretary of war. The opposition to this proposal was led by the secretary of state. Jefferson knew the West and had an abiding faith in its rapid development, and certainly no American statesman has done so much to promote the interest of this region as has he. He was not unprepared to meet Hamilton's arguments, for he had previously talked this subject over with the British minister and had pointed out that the error in the boundary could be and should be rectified without a large territorial cession by the United States. He gave no weight to the argument that the right of Great Britain to navigate the Mississippi necessitated the alienation of United States territory that British subjects

might enjoy accessibility to navigable waters. President Washington closed the discussion by the remark that the "remedy was worse than the disease."

This effort by Hammond was only a preparatory game of bluff. The real contest was to come two years later. Great Britain was now at war with the French revolutionists and was more amenable to reason as it was expounded by the United States. For the expounding Washington selected John Jay, who was instructed to negotiate the commercial treaty, so long delayed, to secure the vacating of the lake posts, and to close up such other open sores as affected the relations between the two countries.

Lord Grenville, who conducted the negotiations for England, brought forward the question of the rectification of the boundary as one of the objects most pressing. He had before him a memorial concerning the West in which the writer laid great stress on securing access to the population of the Mississippi Valley in order that British merchants might enjoy the profits of the growing trade. The choice of two lines was the option offered Jay by the British minister. One extended from the present site of the city of Duluth westward to the Red Lake River, which was supposed to be a branch of the Mississippi. The line was impossible because the river chosen is a branch of the Red River of the North and so a gap in the boundary would still have been left. Nevertheless, if this line had been accepted, that greatly desired Grand Portage would have belonged to the British Empire. The other line proposed was to run from the junction of the St. Croix with the Mississippi northward to the already established boundary. This would have given Canada an entering wedge of land extending to below the site of St. Paul. In the treaty of 1794 John Jay managed to yield almost everything demanded by Great Britain and it seems almost incomprehensible that he should have hesitated about giving up

such a bauble as thirty or thirty-five thousand square miles of territory containing the future sites of Duluth, St. Paul, and the campus of the University of Minnesota. Fortunately the real fame of Minnesota was not endangered in this negotiation; the site of "Gopher Prairie" was not in dispute. Jay did not yield in this instance. He hummed and he hawed, he looked at the map and then at Lord Grenville and finally said that the map seemed uncertain about the course of the river involved and he thought it would be well to appoint a joint commission to investigate. The British were, therefore, obliged to be satisfied with the postponement of any decision.

Grenville did in Article 3 of the treaty secure one right demanded by the fur-traders. This granted freedom to each country to use the portage waters, and it prohibited the laying of duty by either country on peltries or on goods and effects of the Indians who might pass the boundary. By this clause the fur trade of the Old Northwest was legally secured to the British even though they were forced to give up the lake posts, which they did in 1796.

The next movement to settle the boundary came from the United States. In the fall of 1802 the negotiations were opened with the object of securing the consent of the British to the most direct and just means of correcting the error, namely, by running a line from the headwaters of the Mississippi to the Lake of the Woods. This time the negotiations were successful and on May 12, 1803, the most direct line between the two points was agreed upon.

At the same time, however, there had culminated in Paris certain negotiations which ended rather unexpectedly in the purchase of Louisiana, thus giving the United States the territory west of the proposed line, or possibly so, for the northern limits of Louisiana were unknown. The Senate of the United States, not wishing to impair in any way the rights

that had been acquired to the region west of the Mississippi, struck out the clause of the agreement with Great Britain establishing the boundary line. At the same time Secretary of State Madison laid claim to the forty-ninth parallel as the boundary of Louisiana. Thus the error of 1783 was united with a greater issue — the boundary of the territory stretching to the Rocky Mountains, a subject into which I have no time to enter this evening. Enough for us to know that the convention of 1803 was not ratified, nor did an attempt in 1807 to settle the issue end in a definite agreement. From the negotiations, however, it was evident that British ministers seemed ready to accept the forty-ninth parallel as marking the boundary of Louisiana, although that line from ignorance was based on a purely fortuitous circumstance.

The story of the closing of the boundary line of 1783 might very well end at this point, for the next attempt on the part of the British to rectify the international boundary is not connected so definitely with the previous negotiations; but since that attempt aimed at the alteration of the whole boundary of the Great Lakes region, it is one of the most interesting of the series of events we are considering. The War of 1812 is generally depicted as a war waged to protect our rights on the sea, which the British were continuously disregarding. They overhauled our vessels and impressed our seamen into their service. There can be no doubt that the popular slogan that aroused the people to a war pitch was connected with the wrongs suffered by our sailors on the ocean. But the men who forced our country into the war were Westerners and their irritation at the British arose out of western conditions; they resented the continued exploitation of the fur trade by Canadians within the boundaries of the United States and the influence exercised by them over the American Indians, who were bound by economic interests to the men of the northern dominion. This condition lies at the basis of the Western-

ers' hostility to Great Britain, and it was this western hostility which Henry Clay and the new men in Congress voiced. The stalwart and rather blunt provincialism of the West brought on the war, which these Westerners thought would be quickly ended by their prowess. Clay was only voicing the opinion of his neighbors when he boasted that the militia of Kentucky alone could conquer Canada.

We didn't conquer Canada, in fact we were beaten back. Our ships were driven from the sea, our troops did not win one considerable victory, except the battle of New Orleans, which was fought after the treaty of peace was signed. We did suffer the humiliation of invasion, and the public buildings at Washington were burned. From a military and naval point of view we were beaten. Moreover the British had had some very irritating experiences. There had been rather decisive, although small, American victories on the lakes and on the ocean. These called for retribution, and the editors of British newspapers were loud in their demands for punishment. The negotiations for peace occurred just at the moment of England's greatest exhaltation in Europe. Napoleon had been overthrown. England was everywhere regarded as a savior of civilization, and her people were willing to accept the glory which had come to them.

They had made peace in Europe, but in one insignificant part of the world they had failed to convince the people of the power of the British Empire. The newspapers made of the American situation their main news items and the subject of editorial comment. "The London Times, the Morning Post, the Sun, the Courier, were incessant in their demands, and beyond all others abusive in their language. James Madison, according to these journals, was a despot in disguise, a liar, an impostor, and the most abject of the many abject tools of Napoleon. The Government of the United States was, in the opinions of their editors, the most unprincipled . . . on

the face of the earth — a Government not only insensible to shame, but destitute of that brutish quality of being beaten into a sense of its worthlessness and incapacity." They didn't know when they were whipped. [6]

These newspaper editors demanded a dictated peace and wished the war to be continued until such a result was secured. Their demands may be enumerated somewhat as follows: "No Yankee must ever again be allowed to catch a fish or dry it on the coasts of Nova Scotia, or Labrador, or the Magdalen Islands, or of Newfoundland. Louisiana must be given up. A large piece of Maine must be ceded. Control of the St. Lawrence river must be secured to Canada by surrendering a strip of New York north of a line drawn from Plattsburgh to Sackett's Harbor. Troops must be withdrawn from the posts in the Northwest, and the safety of Canada yet further secured by the acquisition of the eastern banks of the Niagara river and the formation of an Indian territory reaching from Sandusky to the Kaskaskia." [7]

Such was the state of public opinion in England when the instructions to the peace commissioners to Ghent were drawn up by the British ministry. Naturally the thought uppermost in their minds was to make the peace prove to the Americans the success of the empire, which the imperial troops apparently had failed to do. Fortunately for America there were chosen as British peace commissioners men of mediocre intelligence and of no political weight. They were met by the ablest men in America. Three of the five American commissioners were Albert Gallatin, John Quincy Adams, and Henry Clay. There was lack of harmony among them but no lack of intelligence, and they saved for America what was so nearly lost by our army.

[6] John B. McMaster, *History of the People of the United States*, 4: 260 (New York, 1896).

[7] McMaster, *United States*, 4: 261.

The American commissioners had come prepared to discuss the questions involved in the rights of neutral ships and in the impressment of American seamen, but they found much to their surprise that the British commissioners were not intending to discuss these issues so paramount in American eyes. Nor were they discussed nor did they enter into the final treaty. The British commissioners found in their instructions three paramount issues, and they were told that the British demands concerning these must be accepted or there would be no treaty. These issues were the limiting of the fishing rights of Americans on the Canadian coast, the rectifying of the Northwest boundary, and the creation of a neutral Indian state. The first of these need not detain us, although its acrimonious discussion created dissensions between Adams and Clay. The last two issues are of importance to us.

The British fur-traders still had their eyes on the Grand Portage, and their influence was sufficient to make one of the proposed conditions of peace the alteration of the boundary by removing its starting point on Lake Superior from the Pigeon River to the St. Louis. Duluth was again in jeopardy. The third *sine qua non* of the British commissioners reminds us of that nervy bluff of Benjamin Franklin, when he suggested in 1782 that the British Empire throw in Canada for good measure. The British now demanded the erection of a neutral Indian state between Canada and the United States. Its southern boundary was to follow the line of the Indian treaty of 1795 at Greenville, made by Anthony Wayne. This would have thrown into this buffer state northwestern Ohio, most of Indiana, all Illinois, and the states to the north of them. The true Anglo-Saxon, wherever he dwells, is able to clothe his diplomatic demands in the language of philanthrophy. The British argued that their allies, the Indians of the Northwest, had been badly treated by the American settlers. They were constantly being driven

from their hunting grounds and obliged to abandon the graves of their ancestors. Furthermore, in their present state the Indian tribes were a source of international irritation. Canada also had its Indian problem, and it was proposed to throw the Canadian West into this new Indian state, all to be under the kindly and fatherly care of the British Empire. The American commissioners were assured that these conditions were the *sine qua non* of peace. Of course, such terms could not be considered, and Albert Gallatin and his companions began to pack their trunks. They lingered over the process, however, long enough for their opponents to receive further instructions.

The British ministry was far more interested in the European situation as it was unfolding itself at Vienna. Canada and the interests of Canada were, after all, very remote. The valley of the Great Lakes apparently touched British interests very slightly, in spite of the noisy editorials in the newspapers. The ministers took thought before allowing the negotiations to be broken off. They finally asked the opinion of the most popular man in England, the Duke of Wellington. Two questions they asked of him, first, his opinion about going himself to America and leading the British arms to victory; second, what he thought of making an issue over a cession of territory. The Duke of Wellington was a man of good common sense, not given to chasing will-of-the-wisps. He replied that he would go to America, if ordered; but he didn't regard it as worth while. And as to the demand for territory he felt certain that the success of the British arms had not been sufficient to warrant the making an issue of it. The advice seemed wise, and the British peace commissioners were instructed to withdraw their *sine qua non*. Since the American commissioners had already given up hope of securing any guarantee of American rights on the high seas, there was nothing to be done but to declare a peace and a return to conditions as they were before the war. This was done.

Thus ended the game of international poker in which part of the future state of Minnesota was one of the chips. It had gone on intermittently for thirty-two years, from 1782 to 1814, but no change had been effected since the time when the preliminaries of peace were signed in 1782. By the convention of 1818 this particular phase of the boundary question was closed forever by delimiting the two countries west of the Mississippi by the forty-ninth parallel as far as the Rocky Mountains. The fate of Minnesota was finally determined. It was to be built by the labor of American men and women; its industries were to be developed under the laws and administration of the great republic of the south.

During the War of 1812 both the British Empire and the United States had built many armed vessels on the Great Lakes. After the cessation of hostilities the issue immediately arose whether the two countries would enter into competition in building fleets for the protection of their boundary. The issue was even more comprehensive, for it would mean were this competition entered upon, the erection of large forts along the boundary line. The jingoes of both countries demanded just such a warlike competition. The honor of country, they argued, demanded such a preparation for war. The issue really wavered in the balance. Fortunately, better counsels prevailed and there took place in 1817 that now famous exchange of diplomatic notes by which each country limited its armed vessels to what was needed for police duty. Thus without formal treaty there has existed for over a hundred years the most important boundary agreement in the history of the world; it creates a boundary unprotected by vessels bristling with guns and without thick steel fortresses capable of withstanding the attack of armies. It is a boundary of peace, offering to a war-sick world an object lesson and a hope.

Such it should be, for the boundary line was conceived in the love of humanity, and Canadians and Americans by their

respect for the rights of others have raised a great monument to the two men who loved mankind and longed for universal peace, the two men who originally drew this boundary and who knew that they had laid as one of them wrote "a strong foundation for eternal amity between England and America." So long as this line remains as a boundary of peace between two nations of friends, so long will it endure as a glorious monument to Benjamin Franklin and Lord Shelburne.

Clarence Walworth Alvord

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THE STATE HISTORICAL CONVENTION AT DULUTH

The holding of a state historical convention under the auspices of the Minnesota Historical Society in Duluth on July 28 and 29, 1922, was an unprecedented event, for no meeting outside Minneapolis or St. Paul had been called previously by the society in all the years since 1849, when the institution was founded. By the historical interest it aroused and the enthusiasm it evoked the summer meeting at Duluth proved that the policy of extending the activities of the society among the people in this fashion is productive of worth while results. It is safe to say that the Duluth meeting was the first in a series of state-wide annual historical conventions which will prove an important factor in the popular dissemination of information about Minnesota history. That local historical activity will be encouraged as the importance of state history becomes recognized more fully seems certain. This in turn should mean the more careful garnering of the records of Minnesota's past, and a general stimulus to historical thinking.

The convention at Duluth was held upon the invitation of the Duluth Chamber of Commerce and members of the society in that city. The chamber of commerce joined the Minnesota Historical Society in extending cordial invitations to Minnesotans to attend the convention, for the purpose of the meeting was to bring together as many people as possible who are interested in the history of Minnesota. Local historical societies and old settlers' associations throughout the state were asked, therefore, to send representatives to the convention, and members of the society and others interested were invited to attend.

A general committee of the society was appointed to have charge of the meeting, with Mr. Gideon S. Ives of St. Paul, ex-president of the society, as chairman, and Dr. Solon J. Buck, superintendent of the society, as secretary. The other members of this committee were Mr. Elmer E. Adams of Fergus Falls; Mr. Fred S. Bell of Winona; Captain Fred A. Bill, Mr. John M. Bradford, Mrs. Charles E. Furness, and Mr. James M. McConnell, of St. Paul; Judge William A. Cant, Mr. William E. Culkin, and Mr. William A. McGonagle, of Duluth; Mrs. Marshall H. Coolidge, Mr. Edward C. Gale, Dr. William E. Leonard, Mr. Levi Longfellow, Professor Andrew A. Stomberg, and Mr. Paul J. Thompson, of Minneapolis; Miss Bertha Hinshaw of Hibbing; Mr. Hiram M. Hitchcock of Redwood Falls; Mr. Thomas Hughes of Mankato; Mayor Victor E. Lawson of Willmar; Mr. Olai A. Lende of Canby; Mr. William B. Mitchell of St. Cloud; Mr. Richard D. Musser of Little Falls; Mr. Henry Oldenburg of Carlton; the Reverend Francis L. Palmer of Stillwater; Mr. Andrew D. Stephens of Crookston; and Mr. John R. Swann of Madison.

The committee on local arrangements was headed by Mr. Culkin, the other members being Mr. Luther B. Arnold, Mrs. Archibald T. Banning, Mrs. Julia M. Barnes, Mr. Edward C. Congdon, Judge Josiah D. Ensign, Mrs. N. Fred Hugo, Mr. Trevanion W. Hugo, Congressman Oscar J. Larson, Mrs. John R. McGiffert, and Mr. Luke A. Marvin, of Duluth, and Mr. Fred Bessette of Orr.

About fifteen Minneapolis and St. Paul people gathered at the Historical Building in St. Paul on Thursday morning, July 27, and at 9:00 A.M. started on an automobile tour to Duluth. After a delightful trip the party reached that city about 6:00 P.M. Other visitors came by train or automobile and when the registration during the convention was completed it was found that in all 51 members of the society

attended the meeting, 19 of whom were residents of Duluth. Non-members who registered numbered 130, and of these 92 were from Duluth. Thus of a total registration of 181, those from outside the city of Duluth numbered 70. The actual attendance at the meetings, it should be added, was considerably larger than these figures indicate, for many persons failed to leave their names at the registration desk.

All the sessions of the convention were held in the Memorial Hall at the St. Louis County Court House. In the large corridor approaching this hall an interesting array of war posters, collected by Mr. Henry L. Stafford, was displayed. The registration booth was situated in this corridor, but the convention headquarters were established nearby at the chamber of commerce. As a courtesy to the visitors the privileges of the chamber of commerce and of the Duluth Boat Club were extended to all who wore the convention badge. The two days of the convention were so crowded with sessions and other stated events that few of the visitors found time to indulge in the pleasures of canoeing or boating. But no one was so busy that he failed to study and to appreciate the picturesque and panoramic scenes afforded from the heights of the city — the majestic sweep of Lake Superior, the great wharves and gigantic ships, the far-flung line of the city hugging the north shore.

The first session began on Friday, July 28, at 10:00 A.M., with Mr. Jed L. Washburn of Duluth acting as the presiding officer. An address of welcome was delivered by the mayor of Duluth, Mr. Samuel F. Snively. After speaking first of the French and the contributions which they, as early explorers who "followed the path of the great inland seas," made to the history of the Northwest, the mayor called attention to various other racial elements that have gone into the making of Minnesota, particularly stressing the importance of those peoples who have possessed the heritage of constitu-

tional liberty. Speaking for Duluth, the mayor then welcomed the visitors cordially and expressed his good wishes for the success of the convention.

The response on behalf of the society was made by Mr. Ives, who first pointed out that one object of the summer meeting was to acquaint the people of the state with the work of the Minnesota Historical Society. He then told of the founding of the institution in 1849 and described the varied activities of the society since that time. Mr. Ives emphasized the value to the state of a thorough understanding of its past and pointed out that this implies that the mistakes as well as the successes will be studied with profit. In this connection he described the ruinous policy of the past with reference to the great forests of the region and urged the adoption of a comprehensive policy of reforestation. Another present need to which he directed attention is the adequate protection of the headwaters of the Mississippi.

The first formal paper presented was a study of "The Origin and Early History of the Farmers' Alliance in Minnesota," by Dr. John D. Hicks, professor of history at Hamline University, St. Paul.[1] Owing to the absence of Dr. Hicks, the paper was read by Mr. Cecil W. Shirk, the society's field secretary. The paper was based upon a careful examination of manuscripts, newspapers, and other sources in the possession of the Minnesota Historical Society and is one of a series of studies by the author on aspects of the "agrarian crusade." After a brief introduction relating to the national Farmers' Alliance, an account was presented of the formation of the Minnesota organization in 1881. Its early growth was slow, but "when the fourth meeting of the alliance was held in St. Paul on February 4, 1885, the order was a definite factor to be reckoned with in the politics of the state." At this stage the alliance men were not in favor of

[1] This paper is to be printed in the December, 1922, issue of the *Mississippi Valley Historical Review.*

a separate political party, but did look to legislation for the mitigation of alleged farmers' evils. Much of Dr. Hicks's paper was devoted to an analysis of the situation of the Minnesota farmer in the eighties, which was the background of the alliance movement in the state. "The root of the evil was the low price of wheat." Territorial expansion, with the influx of population into wheat-growing territory and the consequent oversupply of wheat in the markets of the world, was an important factor in the situation. In 1884 the Minnesota wheat-grower sold his crop at prices ranging from forty-two to forty-eight cents a bushel. Yet the farmer himself, according to Dr. Hicks, was in part responsible for his own plight, for his over-investment in equipment and his reliance upon the one-crop system contributed to the distress.

A more specific grievance of the farmer was the claim that the cost of transportation, elevator charges, and fees paid to the railways, warehouses, and commission merchants absorbed a large part of the fair share of the selling price to which he was entitled. Thus the railroads became the focus of the farmer's complaints. Excessive and unreasonable rates and discriminations of various sorts were vigorously charged against the railroad companies. Scarcely less sharp was the farmer's condemnation of alleged unfair practices of elevator companies, particularly with reference to the grading of wheat. The result was a demand for legislative redress which led to the remedial laws of 1885 and the creation of the railroad and warehouse commission of that year, a body which "acquitted itself creditably considering the handicaps under which it worked."

A new mobilization of farmer forces began in 1886, more aggressive political action was threatened, and in 1887 a revision of the railroad and warehouse commission act of 1885, by enlarging the powers of that body, brought comfort to the alliance. The most important features of the new act, its rate-making provisions, were eventually ruled unconstitutional

by the United States Supreme Court. Dr. Hicks closed with a survey of the later history of the alliance, but did not tell in detail the story of its entrance into politics as a distinct third party. He believes that, although the farmer's organizations usually have fallen to pieces, his organized protests have "forced the older parties to take up his cause, and to grant him concession after concession."

The Governor of Minnesota, the Honorable Jacob A. O. Preus, who had come to Duluth to study the Minnesota coal supply problem in relation to the coal strike, was present during the reading of this paper and was invited to open the discussion. Apropos of the function of third parties the Governor pointed out that they brought forward ideas some of which were adopted and some of which were corrected by the larger parties. "The Farmers' Alliance," he said, "did a great deal for men as a minority party." As for the solving of the farmers' problems, he asserted that coöperative marketing offers the greatest possibilities. He stressed particularly the point that lack of uniformity in the grading of wheat was the specific cause for stricter regulation and for the forming of the railroad and warehouse commission and the board of grain appeals. The Governor then turned to the coal problem, and analyzed the situation as it affected Minnesota. In closing he pointed out the value of the study of history, asserting that only by drawing upon the wisdom of our fathers, by understanding what has gone before, can we leave to posterity a heritage comparable to that which we ourselves have received.

At the conclusion of the Governor's remarks, Mr. Theodore C. Blegen of Hamline University, St. Paul, was called upon to discuss the paper of Dr. Hicks. He said that the analysis by Dr. Hicks was a valuable contribution to Minnesota history and that students who wish to understand the economic foundations of Minnesota politics are grateful to the author for this and other able papers on the agrarian third parties

and their leaders. Mr. Blegen pointed out that the Farmers' Alliance entered Minnesota politics in 1890 and not only carried a tier of twenty-four western counties for governor but also won the balance of power in the legislature. He called attention to the need for monographic studies of the entire Farmers' Alliance movement in Minnesota and in the country as a whole and also of a thoroughgoing study of the milling industry in the state. It is important, he said, that such studies be carried through by trained scholars in the spirit of impartiality. "The business of the historian is to ascertain the truth from the records, and to set it forth without bias and without fear."

Mr. Adams and Mr. Lawson, whose names appeared on the program for the discussion of the first paper, were unable to be present, but the latter submitted the following brief paper on "The Farmers' Alliance in Kandiyohi County," which he prepared for the occasion and which, as an analysis of the situation in a typical county, merits publication in full.

THE FARMERS' ALLIANCE IN KANDIYOHI COUNTY

Perhaps conditions as they existed in Kandiyohi County were more or less typical of other counties of the Northwest. At the outset it might be said that the early settlers of Kandiyohi County (not the immigrants so much as the native-born Americans who came from the Eastern states) were somewhat interested in the early Granger movement and many of them supported the Greenback party. In 1876 Harrison Township gave Peter Cooper a majority of the votes cast for president — fifty-one votes to forty-one for Hayes and Tilden together. In 1886 the townships of Burbank, Irving, and Roseville were carried by Benjamin Butler for president.

The alliance movement, however, developed strongly throughout the county. Twenty-two local alliances were organized, the first of which, number 51, was organized in Burbank in December, 1881. It continued in existence until 1893. The last "local" organized was number 1,284 in Fahlun Township in 1892; it continued to function three years. The two largest

"locals" were Lake Lillian with eighty-two members and Dovre with eighty members, both in districts almost exclusively Scandinavian in population. A fair estimate of the number of active members in the county would be about one thousand.

The coöperative business activities of the alliances did not extend beyond buying binding twine or in a few instances other supplies in carload lots. In the case of the Whitefield Alliance, the initiative was taken to organize the Kandiyohi County Farmers' Alliance Elevator Company for the purpose of building and operating a grain elevator at Willmar. This company was organized on August 26, 1896. This business still continues as the Willmar Coöperative Elevator Company and does a large annual business. It is evident that these early alliance organizations in each community brought the people together and that the discussion of common needs gave rise to many of the coöperative enterprises since successfully launched in this county. At the annual county conventions of the alliance resolutions were adopted touching all phases of civic affairs.

It has been a common belief that the decision of the Farmers' Alliance for independent political action was the reason for its decline. In Kandiyohi County this decision was reached after a very exhaustive discussion and it led to many prominent members leaving the movement in order to maintain good standing in the dominant political party organization. On the other hand it is certain that the men who had the responsibility of administering the affairs of coöperative enterprises felt the necessity for legislation that would give them fairer opportunities, and in the absence of the means for making their influence felt in the diplomacy of the legislative lobbies they saw a chance to secure by direct political action what their numbers would seem to warrant. The political Farmers' Alliance was merged later with the People's party and that in turn lost its identity by fusing with the Democrats.

The Equity Society, which is the logical successor of the alliance organization among the farmers for promoting coöperative enterprises, essays to avoid direct political action. There is little doubt, however, that the political problems encountered by the Equity Society in the Northwest led to the organization of the militant political force among the farmers now known as the Nonpartisan League.

At the Kandiyohi County Farmers' Alliance convention held in Willmar in 1890 the following resolution was unanimously adopted: "Whereas, The old political parties have proven unfaithful to their trust and have time and again broken faith with their promises, therefore be it, Resolved, That we favor independent political action and that a full state ticket be put in the field." Other resolutions adopted at the same convention demanded taxation of railroad property on the same basis as farm property; reduction of railroad tariffs; free shipment of grain from side tracks for private individuals; election of senators and president by direct vote; submission of a prohibition amendment to popular vote; enforcement of the government's rights with reference to the Union Pacific and Central Pacific railroads and its operation of these lines as government railroads. The use of money for the control of elections was denounced.

An attempt to establish a newspaper in full sympathy with the alliance movement was made in 1891, when the *Alliance Standard* was established. It suspended after two or three years of precarious existence. The need for friendly publicity was felt keenly by the farmers after the demise of the *Standard* and at a county alliance meeting held in the fall of 1894 a resolution was adopted pledging one thousand paid-up subscriptions to anyone who would give the county a newspaper that would treat the farmers fairly in their endeavor to secure economic justice. The result was the launching of the *Willmar Tribune* by Dr. Christian Johnson in February, 1895, a newspaper which still survives and has a large circulation in the county. There can be no doubt that the Farmers' Alliance organization left a lasting influence on the civic life of the county and the state.

After this discussion of the Farmers' Alliance, a paper was read on "Early French Explorers of Northern Minnesota, 1660–1743," by Dr. Warren Upham, archeologist of the Minnesota Historical Society. Dr. Upham began by reviewing briefly the western journeys of Groseilliers and Radisson. He then referred to Du Luth, quoting the laconic report of Vaudreuil of May 1, 1710: "Captain Du Lud died this winter; he was a very honest man." After speaking briefly of Jacques de Noyon, Dr. Upham turned to the story of

Pierre Gaultier de Varennes, sieur de la Vérendrye, and his sons. Considerable attention was given to La Vérendrye, the speaker asserting that a principal motive for the preparation of his paper was to advocate the name Vérendrye for the proposed new Minnesota county adjoining the Lake of the Woods. After a concise summary of present knowledge concerning the explorations of La Vérendrye and his sons, Dr. Upham said, "All that history has recorded concerning Vérendrye leads us to admire and honor him, for his courage amid many obstacles and keen disappointments, for his firm Christian faith under sickness and bereavements, as by the deaths of Jemmeraye and his oldest son, and for his persevering devotion to the interests of Canada and of France. Not less than Du Luth, he was a hero of the far frontier. These men were shining examples of fidelity and self-denial for what they deemed to be duty. For evidences of this spirit, both Du Luth and Vérendrye were outspoken and resolute to refrain from sale or barter of intoxicating liquors to the Indians." Dr. Upham closed with an appreciation of Father Aulneau, whose name is coupled with that of La Vérendrye, and an account of Joseph La France, "a French and Ojibway half-breed who in the years 1740 to 1742 traveled and hunted with the Indians through the northern parts of the area of this state and in Manitoba."

An informal twelve o'clock luncheon at the Chamber of Commerce was attended by many of the visitors and Duluth people at the convention. The afternoon session began at 2:00 P.M., with Mr. Mitchell presiding. The first paper at this session was by Dr. Wayne E. Stevens of Dartmouth College, Hanover, New Hampshire, on "The Fur Trade in Minnesota During the British Régime." This interesting description of the early Minnesota fur trade and fur-traders is to be published in full in the BULLETIN for February, 1923.

Mr. Mitchell next introduced Mr. Arthur T. Adams of Minneapolis, who presented an exhibition of "Pictures Illus-

trating Historic Sites in Minnesota." Mr. Adams indicated that the situation in the state with regard to monuments and markers is sadly in need of reform; his pictures showed that a great many markers have been placed in almost inaccessible places and that their location is not pointed out to passing tourists in any adequate way; many others have been neglected or forgotten; on yet others the inscriptions are inaccurate. As an example he exhibited a picture of Birch Cooley, where rank grass obscures a marker at the scene of the massacre. The monument marking the scene of the Beaver Creek massacre was shown as it lies, toppled over by cattle and utterly neglected. Pictures of numerous other sites and monuments in need of attention were shown by Mr. Adams. He suggested that the state should secure the site of the Lower Agency building on the Minnesota River, the home of Joseph R. Brown, and the spot where Le Sueur built Fort L'Huillier, and set aside these places as state parks which unite natural beauty with historical associations. Mr. Adams then exhibited a number of views of picturesque Minnesota scenes and little-known places of special historical interest.

The next speaker introduced was Dr. Buck, who told "The Story of the Grand Portage from Lake Superior to the Pigeon River." His paper is to be published in full in the next number of the BULLETIN, and therefore need only be mentioned here.

A general discussion followed on "The Importance of Preserving and Marking Historic Sites, Trails, and Landmarks, and How This Can Best Be Accomplished." This discussion was opened by Mrs. Coolidge, state regent of the Daughters of the American Revolution. Asserting that the keynote of the organization which she represented is service, Mrs. Coolidge told of its interest in the marking of historic sites. Fourteen markers or monuments in Minnesota have been erected by the Daughters of the American Revolution, she said. Among these were mentioned the stone at the site of the making of

the Treaty of Traverse des Sioux and the marker at the site of the blockhouse of Zebulon M. Pike. The Sibley House, which is administered by the organization, is filled with memorials of General Sibley and "is a great educational factor in the state." Mrs. Coolidge then sketched some of the admirable plans of the Daughters of the American Revolution for the marking of other historic sites and pointed out that interest and money for the work were assured. She closed by suggesting that if the location of historic spots were indicated on road maps greater popular interest in marking the state's historic spots might be aroused.

Mr. Perry Williams, manager of the *Minneapolis Journal* travel and resort bureau, who continued the discussion, asserted that the proper marking and preservation of the state's historic spots have an important bearing on a great industrial opportunity. "Minnesota's wonderful vacation opportunities," he said, "are attracting an ever-increasing flow of tourists to this state. If, in addition to our good roads and our service in guiding visitors over these roads and to their vacation points, we add the constant interest which is aroused by marking the historic places, we will add greatly to the prestige of the state as a place for the vacationist." Mr. Williams then stressed the need for a guidebook to Minnesota's historic places. "Such a book," he said, "should describe briefly the interesting events which make each spot worthy of a mark and also give the method of reaching the various places by railroad and by highway or water as the case may be."

Mr. Willoughby M. Babcock, Jr., curator of the Minnesota Historical Society's museum, who was next introduced by Mr. Mitchell, first told of the work which has been done by the neighboring states of Wisconsin and Iowa to preserve and mark historic sites. In Wisconsin the problem of high cost has been met by the secretary of the archeological

society by "evolving an attractive marker consisting of a slab of stone with a sloping face on which is attached a bronze tablet giving information concerning the spot marked." A great deal has been accomplished in Wisconsin as a result of thoroughgoing coöperation among various agencies interested in historic sites. Iowa has organized its administration of state parks and memorials and achieved excellent results. Mr. Babcock then took up the situation in Minnesota and declared that a state board of parks would have almost unlimited opportunities for carrying through a comprehensive plan for parks and memorials in this state. The Grand Portage region was mentioned as a desirable park site. Indian mounds are rapidly disappearing. Many have been cleared away, but those that remain should be marked in some adequate way. To meet the difficulties of the passing tourist, Mr. Babcock suggested that an added marker should be placed on the highway directing the tourist to the spot where the incident commemorated occurred and that the permanent marker should be at the place of actual occurrence.

Mrs. James T. Morris, national chairman of the historic spots committee of the Daughters of the American Revolution, spoke next, calling attention to one of the most interesting markers in the state, that placed on the old round tower at Fort Snelling in honor of Colonel Henry Leavenworth, the first commander of the fort, which was originally called Fort St. Anthony. This valuable general discussion was closed by Dr. Buck, who told of the plans of the state auditor, Mr. Ray Chase, for preparing a careful report on state parks and memorials in Minnesota and for urging the establishment of a state board to have jurisdiction over such parks and memorials. The Minnesota Historical Society, said Dr. Buck, is coöperating with Mr. Chase in the hope that the state's monuments and historic sites may soon receive the care and supervision which they so urgently need.

A large audience was present for the evening session which began at 8:00 P.M. Mr. Ives presided and first introduced Mr. Trevanion W. Hugo, who read an interesting paper entitled "Daniel Greysolon, Sieur Du Luth, the Original Exploiter of the International Waterway Proposition." The next speaker was Dr. Clarence W. Alvord of the University of Minnesota, whose paper on "How Northern Minnesota Was Saved from the British, 1783-1818," appears, under a somewhat different title, in the present number of the BULLETIN. An interesting special feature of the evening was the presentation of a series of pictures illustrating the history of the city of Duluth. Brief explanations were made, as the views were thrown on the screen, by Mr. Homer C. Fulton of Duluth.

"Minnesota and the World War" was the general theme considered at the morning session on Saturday, July 29, beginning at 10:00 A.M. Mrs. Barnes presided and presented as the first speaker Mr. Elmer W. McDevitt of Duluth, who took as his subject "The American Soldier." He paid tribute to the "determination, loyalty, self-sacrifice, and devotion" of the men who fought under the stars and stripes in the recent war. The World War, he said, introduced a new kind of warfare and the American soldier was hastily trained, but his adaptability and capacity for hard work carried him through the war triumphantly. The speaker then discussed the problem of adjustment which the soldier faced when he returned to civil life.

Lieutenant Governor Louis L. Collins was to have spoken on "Minnesota Troops in the World War," but unfortunately he was unable to be present. A further disappointment was the unavoidable absence of Mr. Julius H. Barnes, who was scheduled to tell of "Some War Time Experiences." Mrs. Barnes called upon Mr. George McCree of St. Paul, who related some of his experiences when enlisting men in Duluth

for the Motor Transport Corps. He called attention particularly to the eagerness shown by applicants, and cited a number of interesting examples. This zealous spirit, in his opinion, may be depended upon to help the United States to triumph over any similar dangers which may arise in the future. The speaker then discussed briefly the coal strike and its relation to the industry of the country.

Mrs. Barnes then called for the report of the convention's committee on resolutions. The following five resolutions, read by Mr. Mitchell, were unanimously adopted:

RESOLVED, That we express our sincere appreciation of the hospitality of the city of Duluth, of the courtesies extended by the Duluth Chamber of Commerce and the Duluth Boat Club, and especially of the efficient and untiring work of the committee on local arrangements, which has played so large a part in making this first annual convention a success.

RESOLVED, That this convention indorse the proposition for the establishment of a state commission to take over the management of all state parks and to develop a general park system for the state in which historic as well as scenic interests shall receive attention.

RESOLVED, That this convention recommend especially the establishment of a state park to include the Grand Portage from Lake Superior to Pigeon River — the first white man's road in Minnesota — with the site of old Fort Charlotte at the western end of the portage and, if feasible, the Split Rock Canyon and the cascades and falls of the Pigeon River.

RESOLVED, That this convention give its hearty approval to any movement looking toward the preservation and marking of historic sites and trails in Minnesota and urge that a state-wide survey of historic sites be undertaken by the organizations and agencies interested in this work.

RESOLVED, That this convention indorse the proposition that the new county to be formed out of the northern part of Beltrami County be named Vérendrye County in honor of Pierre Gaultier de Varennes, sieur de la Vérendrye, who laid the foundations of the fur trade in the region west of Lake Superior and who in 1732 established Fort St. Charles within the boundaries proposed for the new county.

After the adoption of these resolutions, Mr. Shirk read an account of a visit to old Fort Charlotte and announced that a preliminary examination already had been made of the remains of this historic post and that the Minnesota Historical Society was planning to make a thorough examination and survey of the site in the near future. [2]

Mrs. Barnes then introduced Mr. Franklin F. Holbrook, secretary of the Minnesota War Records Commission, who read a paper entitled "What Minnesota Is Doing to Record Her War History." Aided by local committees, said Mr. Holbrook, the Minnesota War Records Commission has undertaken the collection of state, county, and all other material relating to Minnesota's participation in the recent war. Ultimately, on the basis of the materials collected, a comprehensive documentary history will be published, and already much has been accomplished in the assembling of materials. At first questionnaires sent to service men did not bring an adequate response, but after the state bonus law went into effect an arrangement was made whereby questionnaires were sent out with the bonus forms and as a result information from about eighty per cent of the Minnesota men in the service was obtained. In addition to these, questionnaires have been sent to Red Cross workers and Y.M.C.A. men with interesting results. In coöperation with the historical society, the speaker said, the commission has built up a collection of several hundred photographs of soldiers, of personal narratives, and the like. Various war organizations, such as the Minnesota Commission of Public Safety, the War Camp Community Service, the United States Employment Bureau, the Y.M.C.A., and the Y.W.C.A., have turned over an enormous volume of correspondence. "Taken as a whole," said Mr. Holbrook, speaking of these materials, "their contribution to

[2] A brief report of the results of this survey of old Fort Charlotte appears in the society's *Twenty-second Biennial Report*, 28 (St. Paul, 1923).

the interest, fullness, and accuracy of records will be as great or even greater than that to be derived from any other class of records."

The last speaker of the session was Mr. William E. Culkin, chairman of the St. Louis County War Records Committee, who gave an illustrated address on "St. Louis County in the World War." Mr. Culkin said that he had collected approximately ten thousand records of soldiers, with photographs, letters, and newspaper clippings. The purpose of the committee is to make a comprehensive collection, including the records of home activities as well as those of the men and women in the service. The collection as a whole already possesses exceptional value, but in all likelihood its value will continue to increase. From the committee's collection of slides Mr. Culkin had chosen a number to show on the screen as illustrating the nature and value of these records. These pictures illustrated many sides of the experiences of the soldiers and sailors and vividly recalled the varied activities of those who remained at home.

An informal luncheon at the Chamber of Commerce was held at noon, after which there was a discussion of plans for the organization of a St. Louis County Historical Society. The toastmaster, Mr. Congdon, first introduced Dr. Buck, who discussed briefly the possibilities for a local historical society. Dr. Buck made it clear that, although the state society is ready at all times to make suggestions and to coöperate, no successful organization can be effected unless interested persons in the locality take the initiative and prepare the ground. That there is a field for worth while endeavor in the organization of local historical activity is indicated by the work of hundreds of local historical societies throughout the country. Not a great many exist in Minnesota as yet, he said, but the situation is improving steadily. Affiliation of the local with the central society is desirable, in Dr. Buck's

opinion, and he suggested that possibly a branch society might be formed. The speaker then read parts of a proposed constitution for a local society and closed with the suggestion that a committee be appointed to go over the whole matter carefully and, if feasible, take preliminary steps toward organization. [3]

The distinguished historian, Dr. James K. Hosmer of Minneapolis, who was present at the convention, then responded to an invitation from the toastmaster to speak. Dr. Hosmer, who is in his eighty-ninth year and is the author of numerous important historical works, declared that he was steeped in history, that he was, indeed, "an historical inebriate." As a veteran he commended the work of the younger leaders in the historical field in Minnesota, and he complimented the people of Duluth upon their interest in the organization of a local historical society.

Mrs. Merrill of Duluth cordially indorsed the idea of a county historical society and declared that she favored close affiliation with the state society. Mrs. Coolidge, speaking for the Duluth chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution, promised active interest and coöperation.

Mr. Culkin then moved and the motion was seconded and carried that the Duluth people present express their approval of the idea of organizing local history work and of affiliating with the state society. It was then decided that the committee on local arrangements for the convention should be continued as a committee on a local historical society. Thus the conference paved the way for constructive action. None of those who were present could doubt that an active historical society in northeastern Minnesota soon would be organized. The necessary foundation of intelligent interest and enthusiasm was there and definite, practical plans were under consideration. A local newspaper, the *Duluth Herald,* in commenting

[3] The proposed constitution is printed in full *ante,* p. 252–256.

editorially on the convention, said appropriately, "It is believed that this important gathering will do much to direct the thoughts of our people to our local history, so full of interest. What a pageant historical reflection on Duluth's past awakens! Indians, traders, missionaries, lumbermen, miners, trappers, fishermen, empire builders pass in mental review."

After the luncheon conference an excursion was made, in automobiles provided by the local committee, to Fond du Lac, a place interesting in Minnesota history for its connections with the fur trade and with missionary work among the Indians. Here the members of the convention attended a meeting of the Old Settlers' Association of the Head of Lake Superior. An interesting feature of this meeting was an address by Mr. William E. McEwen of Duluth in which particular attention was devoted to the treaty concluded in 1826 by Governor Lewis Cass and the commissioner of Indian affairs with the Chippewa whereby the latter ceded "the right to search for and carry away, any metals or minerals from any part of their country." As the treaty was signed at Fond du Lac on August 5, 1826, the speaker suggested that plans be made for a celebration of the approaching centennial of this event, urging that a fitting memorial be erected as a part of the celebration. After the meeting the site of the old trading post was inspected. A visit was then made to Jay Cooke State Park, which adjoins the city of Duluth at its northeast line. Here a picnic supper was served, after which the excursion was concluded with a tour of the boulevard in Duluth.

This outing brought the state historical convention to an end. On the following day some of the visitors who attended the meeting started northward toward Grand Portage and Fort William. Others left on tours in other directions or departed for their homes. All were persuaded that the ex-

periment of holding an historical convention in Minnesota had amply justified itself. Interesting historical papers, fruitful discussions, trips to places of historic interest, conversations with people interested in Minnesota history — these things had made the summer meeting a delightful experience for the participants. That the convention served the community of Duluth will be proved if a local history organization is effected; that it served the state as a whole by calling attention to the domain of state history and to the ideals of the historical society seems certain.

Theodore C. Blegen

Minnesota Historical Society
St. Paul

Yours very Truly
Martin W. Lee

THE DIARY OF MARTIN McLEOD[1]

In the manuscript division of the Minnesota Historical Society is a small leather-bound notebook by the aid of which the strange tale of a filibustering trip across Minnesota in the autumn of 1836 has come to light. Martin McLeod, the author of the diary, was well known in Minnesota; yet his connection with James Dickson's expedition seems to have been practically unknown until his diary came to the society. Indeed, the expedition itself seems to have been forgotten. Other matters than those centering around Dickson are recorded in the diary's yellowed pages on which the ink has turned to a rust-brown; and for the study of early Minnesota characters and geographic names these entries are of great value. In the main, however, the importance of the book lies in its revelations concerning a trip that had no less than the founding of an empire for its ultimate purpose.

The story of Dickson's filibustering expedition in its entirety is told elsewhere. It is sufficient here to note that a bizarre character appeared in fashionable circles in New York and Washington in the winter of 1835–36, endeavoring, as he then said, to secure recruits to aid the Texans in their struggle for independence. He called himself General James Dickson and told fascinating stories of his life in Mexico and of his service in the Texan army. His striking military dress and a

[1] Edited with introduction and notes by Grace Lee Nute and prepared for the press by Theodore C. Blegen and Bertha L. Heilbron, all of the staff of the Minnesota Historical Society. The delay in the publication of the present number of the BULLETIN makes it possible to include in the notes references to the article by Dr. Nute which, under the title "James Dickson: A Filibuster in Minnesota in 1836," is published in the *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, 10: 127–140 (September, 1923). In the "Notes and Documents" section of the same magazine (p. 173–181) several "Documents Relating to James Dickson's Expedition," edited by Dr. Nute, are printed as a supplement to the article. See *post*, 5: 116–118, 313. *S. J. B.*

very nice attention to the amenities of social life secured recognition for him but seem to have brought him few recruits. For the officers of "The Army of the Liberator" he went to Montreal and enlisted a number of young half-breeds, sons, in most instances, of well-known factors in the service of the Hudson's Bay Company. Apparently about the time he crossed the international boundary he also changed the name of his organization to "The Indian Liberating Army" and his purpose to that of establishing an Indian kingdom in California. To different persons he gave somewhat varying accounts of his purpose, but to practically all he intimated that his design was to go by way of the Great Lakes to the Red River colony of the Hudson's Bay Company, to secure there an army of half-breeds, and to ascend the Missouri to a certain point in the Rocky Mountains from which he could make an attack on Santa Fé. With the booty there to be obtained, he proposed to set up an Indian kingdom in California, for which, of course, he should be ruler and his officers statesmen. America has been the land of roseate dreams; but, among all its visions of wealth and power, where is the equal for novelty and adventure of this mad product of Dickson's disordered mind?

On October 1, 1836, Dickson and his "army" set sail from Buffalo. McLeod's diary begins a few days prior to that event and carries on the narrative through shipwreck, arrest, starvation, and freezing, till the tattered remnant of the band straggled into the hospitable shelter of the little colony on the banks of the Red River of the North where the city of Winnipeg now stands. The early portion of the book has been lost — from the beginning until October 9 — but McLeod at one time started to make a copy, and progressed as far as December 15. Since that portion of the copy which may be compared with the original shows great accuracy, it may be assumed that the missing portion was faithfully copied. Both the original and the copy are now in the custody of the Minnesota

Historical Society, where they have been placed by McLeod's daughter, Miss Isabelle McLeod of Minneapolis.

The author of the diary is no less interesting than the events he recounts. From a youth in the quaint city of Montreal, with its almost Old World culture and physiognomy, we watch him make his way to the heart of the continent; across the vast prairies to the outposts of civilization where St. Paul is about to rise; spend the best years of his life as a fur-trader in canoe and log cabin in the solitudes of the Minnesota Valley; marry a woman of the Sioux tribe and develop into the solicitous *pater familias;* play the statesman's rôle in assisting to guide the destiny first of the new territory and then of the new state of Minnesota, being especially influential in founding a liberal educational system and fostering an active immigration policy; and finally, at forty-seven, leave behind him the memory of a forceful personality and a short life full of adventure and romance. [2]

GRACE LEE NUTE

MINNESOTA HISTORICAL SOCIETY
ST. PAUL

[2] Martin McLeod was born in L'Original, near Montreal, August 30, 1813. He was the son of John McLeod and one of a large family of children. In contemporary allusions to the personnel of Dickson's party McLeod's name is never included in the list of half-breed officers. Consequently one may be justified in inferring that he had no Indian blood. Testimony to the mark he made for himself in the developing Northwest is seen in the naming of McLeod County, Minnesota, for him. He was a member of the first three councils of the Minnesota territorial legislature and president of the fourth. His influence was exerted to induce immigration from his native land and for that purpose he wrote many letters to Canadian newspapers describing Minnesota. His untimely death in November, 1860, removed a man of abundant executive ability from the youthful state with the early history of which he had been so intimately connected. Portions of his diary, including the account of the journey from the Red River settlement to Fort Snelling in 1837, are published in John H. Stevens, *Personal Recollections of Minnesota and Its People,* 345–357 (Minneapolis, 1890).

Martin McLeod's Diary, 1836 to 1851

Oh' early dreams of fame or fortune in the bright path of life
Ye are forever fled, and nought of all your visions fair
Are left, but sad hopes, and clustering sorrows, rife
With many cares — The hopeless heritage of which I'm heir.
McL. Jany 1848.[3]

July 1836.

My native land, good night! — Byron

A thought has struck me: — As I am about to enter on an "adventurous career" *I will keep a journal.* To sail on the *great lakes* and travel on the *boundless plains* of the *far west* has long been my most ardent desire — now my wishes are soon to be gratified. I may never return — to me it matters little — but should I, — perhaps at a calmer and more happy period of life it may afford me some gratification to look over this record of a *Quixotic career* 'n importe the "die is cast" and come what may, "here is a heart for every fate"

This day July 17th 1836. at 10. a.m (after saying farewell to the few friends whom I really love) left the city of Montreal accompanied as far as Lachine by John W——n and William N[ewhous]e[4] both young friends to whom I wish all manner of happiness. Many a pleasant moment we have had together — all this is now over, and alas, ties still dearer are forever at an end.

Walked across Isle Perrault[5] in company with a jolly and good natured canadian, a Captn of miltia and consequently a

[3] The initials and the date suggest that McLeod made the copy of his diary in 1848 and at that time prefaced it by means of this verse with his mature reflections on the early venture narrated in the diary.

[4] Several letters from William Newhouse among the McLeod Papers indicate that he was one of McLeod's closest friends in Montreal. Unless otherwise stated all manuscript materials referred to in the footnotes to the document herewith printed are in the possession of the Minnesota Historical Society. In a few cases references are made to manuscripts acquired by the society later than the date of the present number of the Bulletin. Initials and abbreviations are often used in the diary for names of persons and of places. Unless the author's meaning is obvious from the context, the names have been filled in by the editor in brackets. In a few cases it has not been possible to ascertain the meaning of the diarist's symbols.

[5] This is undoubtedly Isle Perrot of the present time.

person of some consequence, and his daughter a pretty brunette. Found the *Capatain* an excellent fellow. On arrival at his house, introduced to his bonne femme and an excellent bumper of maderia. Soon afterwards my conveyance came up when I set out for Coteau du Lac where I arrived at 12 o.clock at night very much fatigued.

Monday 18th Miserable inn at Coteau du Lac thought of the "inns and outs of life" Rambled about the village until 2. p.m, when I hired a horse and set out for Lancaster there to await the arrival of the Steamer Neptune with my luggage &c. Rode to Lancaster in two hours, distance 21 miles. Saw but few houses on the way. Country flat & uninteresting, so I rode hard, which I almost always do particularily when alone.

Tuesday 19th Late last night came on board the "Neptune" Surprised, (this morning) to find my friends John M'L[oughli]n and Chs McB[ea]n on board. [6]

At 6. o.clock this morning took stage from Cornwall to Dickenson's [7] landing. Had no time to call upon some friends in Cornwall. Steamer Dolphin from D's landing to Prescott. Met three acquaintances Wallis of Hamilton and Melville & Lilly of Montreal.

Wednesday 20th From Prescott took Steamer "Great Britain" to Queenston. The Captain an American, a most polite and excellent man. Had a delightful trip through lake Ontario. A number of friends on board. Accomodations capital. Weather pleasant. In fact every thing agreeable. Stopp'd at a number of ports on Lake Ontario. Kingston a very pleasant place, indeed, met two or three friends there, kindly received.

Touched at Oswego a rapidly increasing village the Americans call it a town already: in a year or at most two, it will be a *city 'par excellence'* Such are the Americans and such the results of their speculative propensities — but there must be a stop to all

[6] John McLoughlin was the half-breed son of Dr. John McLoughlin, the well-known Hudson's Bay Company chief factor at Fort Vancouver in Oregon. Charles McBean was the son of another chief factor, John McBean. See *post*, n. 30.

[7] The correct spelling of the name of this place is now Dickinson's Landing.

this, false capital will not always do, — then their "go a head" principle may retrograde.

However Oswego is well situated and with all an agreeable place. I learn that Martin Van Buren President of the United States owns much property there.

Remained one day at Toronto, do not like the place. Saw Alx[r] Robertson of Inverness (an acquaintance at Montreal). People kind enough apparently, but I think some what pompous. Why? God only knows. What have they to bost of. Their town or city (as I believe it is call'd) is a muddy hole — but then it is the *Capital* of U[pper] C[anada] and they are up to their ears in politics (damn politics) and they have Sir. F[rancis] B[ond] H[ead] (whom by the by I saw á cheval) who is very popular &c &c and all that,[8] and so you see they are a people of some consequence, and not to be sneezed at, — that is if the d——d stench of their town would allow a person to take his finger from his nasal organ long enough for that pleasant exercise. Jokeing aside I think Toronto is not destined to be the Capital of U. C. many years. Kingston would do better — but

[8] In 1791 the British Parliament passed the Constitutional Act, which separated Canada into two parts, with the Ottawa River as the dividing line. In general, Upper Canada corresponded to what is now Ontario, and lower Canada to the Province of Quebec. Each division had its own government. Upper Canada, especially Toronto, was full of discontent at this time. Jobbing of land by an official clique, social exclusiveness on the part of the governors, and a general yearning for greater self-government among the people led in 1837 to a rebellion under William Lyon Mackenzie. Lord Durham, sent from England in 1838 to investigate conditions, made his famous report in 1839 which resulted in the union of the two Canadas in 1841. Sir Francis Bond Head was lieutenant governor of Upper Canada from 1835 to 1837. He was a vigorous man, of considerable fame as an explorer in South America and as an author. Incidental to McLeod's remark that he saw Head on horseback, it may be said that the baronet rode straight to hounds up to the age of seventy-five. See Leslie Stephen and Sidney Lee, *Dictionary of National Biography*, 25:324 (New York and London, 1891). For a picture of Toronto in the troublous times when McLeod made his visit, as well as for a narrative of Head's misrule and removal, see W. Stewart Wallace, *The Family Compact: A Chronicle of the Rebellion in Upper Canada*, 100–113 (*Chronicles of Canada*, vol. 24— Toronto, 1915).

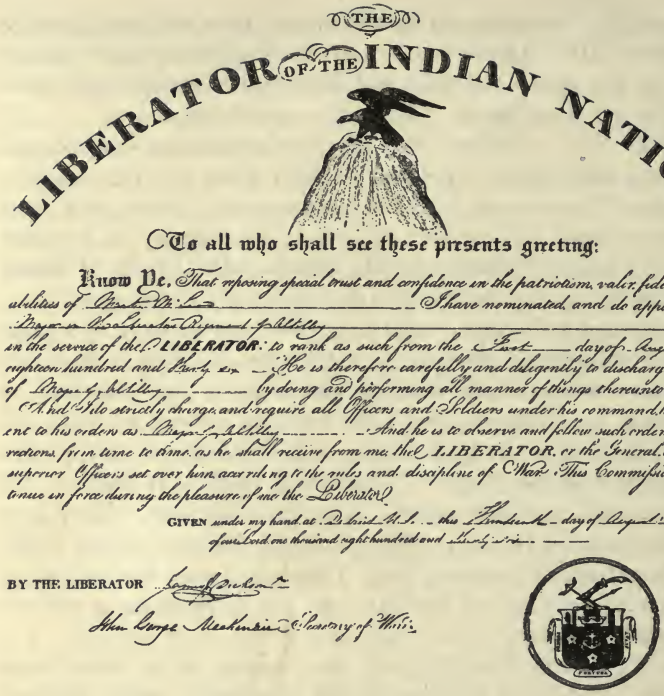
perhaps the Provinces may be united, and then my own favourite Montreal (altho' I have had, heaven knows, little cause to like it) may be the *spot*. All this, and many other changes will take place before I return, if it is my lot, ever to do so.

Friday 22d Arrived at 9 a.m. at Queenston (Lewiston on the American Side) Had but a short time to run up the "heights" to look at Genl Brocks monument, which is a poor affair, and will not last half as long as the memory of the hero who fell there. Thought of his gallant A.D.C. John M'Donell who fell there also; with whose brothers I am acquainted.[9]

Took stage to Niagara, where I arrived in time to have a great deal of difficulty to get dinner. Left three different seats to accomodate ladies. Americans, I judge from their manner of *ousting* a poor hungry devil from his seat without the least acknowledgment (even by a smile) of his politeness. More than 300 persons at the Hotel. (Pavillion I think it is call'd.) Mr Dickson host, and very polite. A native of Ireland. Knew him in Montreal. After my *affair* with the *fair* but unfair ladies Mr D. got places for myself and friends and very kindly sent us in some bottles of his choice wines by way of recompense for our first *embarresment*.

The Falls. Had but a short time to look at the falls *How grand?!* They have been described a thousand — times, yet there is no language capable of conveying a correct idea of them, and of our feelings on first approaching this sublime wonder of nature. Mine were to leap into the horrid gulf from off the verge of the awful precipice on which I stood. After a few moments this strange (but not unusual) feeling gave place to others more

[9] Sir Isaac Brock, major general in the British army during the War of 1812, was killed in battle at Queenstown, October 13, 1812. In 1824 a monument was erected on Queenstown Heights, not far from the spot where he fell. A picture and an account of this monument are given by Benson J. Lossing, in *The Pictorial Field-book of the War of 1812*, 406 n. 1 (New York, 1869). The remains of General Brock and of his aid-de-camp, Lieutenant Colonel John M'Donell, were deposited in a vault in the base. This monument, and not the present structure, was the one which McLeod saw in 1837. In 1840 the original monument was so injured by gunpowder, set off by a rebel of 1837, that a new and much more pretentious monument was erected in 1853.


THE
LIBERATOR OF THE INDIAN NATIONS.
To all who shall see these presents greeting:
Know Ye, That reposing special trust and confidence in the patriotism, valor, fidelity, and abilities of
I have nominated, and do appoint him,
in the service of the LIBERATOR: to rank as such from the
day of
eighteen hundred and
He is therefore carefully and diligently to discharge the duty
by doing and performing all manner of things thereunto belonging.
And I do strictly charge and require all Officers and Soldiers under his command, to be obedient to his orders as
And he is to observe and follow such orders and directions, from time to time, as he shall receive from me, the LIBERATOR, or the General or other superior Officers set over him, according to the rules and discipline of War. This Commission to continue in force during the pleasure of me the Liberator.
GIVEN under my hand at
this
day of
in the year
of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and
BY THE LIBERATOR
John George Mackenzie
Secretary of War.

COMMISSION OF MARTIN MCLEOD AS MAJOR IN THE ARMY OF THE LIBERATOR

[The original of this document is preserved among the McLeod Papers. A fact not to be forgotten while reading McLeod's diary is that Dickson's party was an organized army, at least in the eyes of its leader. A little book, *Articles of War and of the Government of the Army of the Liberator*, and a list of signatures of the officers and privates to these articles, both in the McLeod Papers, show how seriously Dickson viewed the whole enterprise. In the latter paper the following officers are found: major of artillery, five captains of artillery, a captain in the Liberator's regiment of "Life Guards," two first lieutenants of artillery, a third lieutenant in the "Life Guards," two ensigns of artillery, a commissary, and an assistant commissary. Dickson himself was a general, while Mackenzie held the somewhat anomalous position of secretary of war.]

natural, and I became calm and fearless enough to examine all the places visited by travellers and lion hunters.

With my friends McL[oughlin] & McB[ean] hired an extra stage and set out at 3 p.m. to Waterloo a village opposite Black Rock 3 miles below Buffalo. Arrived at Waterloo at 6. p.m. Met Green[10] at the house of Mr Smith; with him and my fellow travellers walked up to the ruins of fort Erie. Introduced for the first time to Gl D[ickso]n[11] who, privately, informed me of his plans &c relative to the intended expedition to the north *via* the great lakes and onwards God only knows where; *and where and when it may end.*

D——n appears quite sanguine of success. As yet I know little of the man, but if I may judge from so short an acquaintance, he is some what visionary in his views — n'importe I wish to go north & westward and will embrace the opportunity, but must "look before I leap".

August 1836 Monday. 1st Buffalo — N. Y. Since the 22d ultº I have been residing for the most part on the British side at the house of Mr Smith of Waterloo in whose family I have been very kindly treated indeed. Visited this place frequently in company with D[ickson] McK[enzie] McL[oughlin] McB[ean] and Hy H[art]n[e]ll un drole de corps that we picked up at Toronto.[12] H[artnell] is a Doctr. and says he will join us for which purpose he has already prepared a sort of "horse marine"

[10] In a manuscript headed "Signatures to the Articles of War Aug. 20th 1836," in the McLeod Papers, the signature of "William Greene Capt of Artillery. L.A." appears. The last letters stand for "Liberating Army."

[11] It is curious that McLeod had not met General Dickson, the leader of the expedition, in Montreal.

[12] John George Mackenzie was the half-breed son of "Emperor" Mackenzie. For details of his relations with the Hudson's Bay Company, see *post,* n. 28 and the references given therein. Hartnell, "an Englishman of good education and address who had been lecturing on & teaching Gymnasticks in the United States and in Canada made a conspicuous figure as the General's Aid de Camp, and afterwards designated himself 'Captain Hargraves of the Lancers.'" See George Simpson to J. H. Pelly, October 31, 1836, in the Canadian Archives, series G, Governor General's Papers, 78, no. 124. Photostatic copies of all material cited from the Canadian Archives are possessed by the Minnesota Historical Society.

uniform in addition to a famous *pair* of moustaches and hessian boots that he brought with him ready made (that is the boots and moustache) when he arrived at Montreal where I first saw him.

H—— however is a good natured sort of fellow, not wanting in courage I think altho' a little vain of his person which is certainly too good looking to be made "food for powder".

Mean time he feels like "Falstaff"

> If your father will do me any honor, so;
> If not let him kill the next Percy himself,
> I look to be either Earl or Duke I assure you.

At 5 p.m this evening left Buffalo on board the Schooner Wave chartered to bring our party to the Sault S^{t} Marie from whence we shall proceed through lake Superior either in Birch Canoes or Boats.

Tuesday 2^{d} Having passed p^{t} Eppincan in the night had to return there this morning at dawn to take in tow a large boat belonging to D[ickson] besides take in a number of men and D. himself who has been residing at the point for some days past awaiting our arrival from Buffalo where the Schooner was detained while I was making the necessary arrangements for the voyage of our party through the lakes. D's movements at Buffalo being looked upon with suspicion by the Americans I had to take his place where I succeeded but indifferently well. Having got our men on board and taken the boat in tow — endeavoured to weather the point, but failing — obliged to anchor in the bay where we remained all night

Wednesday 3^{d} Early this morning — boat sent in charge of M^{c}L[oughli]n to row round the point while we endeavoured to beat out with the Schooner. This was not effected until 3 p.m. Mean time the wind increased to a gale which blew our boat ashore — a wreck.

M^{c}L——n and his men saved themselves at the expense of a good wetting, but some of our luggage (which was carelessly left in the boat) was lost.

The boat belonging to the Wave swamped twice in getting our *boat* party off to the Schooner. No lives lost fortunatly. 11 oclock at night a tremenduous gale — obliged to put back to Ep-

pincan bay for shelter, in doing so our gallant little Schooner struck twice on a reef. The second time with tremenduous force. For a moment I thought all was lost, and turn'd round to speak to some of my companions in danger when D[ickso]n very cooly said to me, now my dear fellow watch the countenances around us and you will realize those beautiful lines in Byron's Don Juan

Then shrieked the timid, and stood still the brave

Our deck was illuminated with the lightening that preceeded at every moment the tremenduous peels of thunder that burst around us and at intervals completely *drown'd* the fearful roaring of the waves. Altogether it was a sublime altho' awful scene. Before day light — got into the shelter of the Bay. Remained on deck all night.

Thursday 4th Sailed early this morning and arrived at Gravelly bay at 2 p.m. Went on shore. Here the Welland Canal joins lake Erie. There are a few houses and some huts occupied by Irish. Left G. B. at 10 this evening. Wind favourable. proceeded across the lake in a S.W. course. had a pleasant run of 60 miles during the night. Passed long point on the Canada shore at day break.

Friday 5th Wind N. steady, but light. Sailing very slowly. Nothing occurr'd to day worth noteing.

Remain'd on deck all night talking to D——n.

Saturday 6th Wind unfavourable — all very dull in consequence Pass'd the day reading "Tacitus."

Sunday 7th Wind same as yesterday. The appearance of the Country on the banks of the lake is not favourable for agriculture. Very low & swampy for the most part, so far as I can judge.

Monday 8th Light but fair wind to day, just a week since we left Buffalo. Saw two brigs and a number of Schooners, like ourselves, creeping along very slowly.

Tuesday. 9th Hurrah! Wind in our favour and blowing a gale. Obliged to run under a close reefed fore sail. Waves mountains high. Our little "Wave" behaves gallantly. Saw two steam boats running into bays for shelter. All our party sick (poor devils) but four. Feel very well myself.

Early in the day, pass'd near where the battle of lake Erie was fought. This evening pass'd the islands below Detroit river. To night we shall get out of the lake.

Wednesday 10th At 10 a.m. came to anchor opposite a Canadian farm house 3 miles below Malden, and 20 miles from Detroit. In the evening our Schooner being becalmed — Rambled on shore for a while and then with D[ickso]n McB[ean] and McL[oughli]n took passage in a Steam boat to the town of Detroit where we arrived a short time after dark.

Thursday. 11th Rambled through Detroit. Think it a pleasant place enough. Increasing rapidly, like all the American towns. People inquisitive and rude. Much speculation as to who we are.

In the evening cross'd over to Sandwich, a small village on the British side. Saw a person whom I knew (slightly) in Montreal. Did not introduce myself.

Friday 12th No appearance of our schooner. Remained all day in Sandwich. In the evening went with D[ickson] to an Auberge 4 miles above Sandwich where we remain'd for the night.

Saturday 13. Schooner came up this morning, but wind unfavourable to proceed. Feel unwell for the first time since I left Montreal.

Staid at the Auberge all day. Host a Canadian and a good natured fellow. Introduced me to Margaret B—— a pretty *Can[a]dienne.*

Sunday 14. Still unable to proceed with our Schooner up the river. Went with Green to an island in the river 3 miles long — on the American shore 2 miles above Detroit. Delightful island, only one house on it, inhabited by a Dutch family who very politely treated us to Porter bread & cheese after our long walk. Saw a number of woodcock.

In the evening return'd in a Canoe to Schooner and went ashore with D[ickson] and others. Saw M. B——

Monday 15. By appointment went with M. B. across to Detroit. In the steam ferry boat, met four American ladies (ladies in dress, if not —) who *stared* very inquisitivly at myself and companion

Dined in Detroit. Saw some of its curiosities and went to the menagerie saw a variety of large snakes, birds, Monkeys and other beasts besides some beastly spectators "half *seas over, chewing* tobacco as if for a wager"

Cross'd to the British side, took a Gig and return'd to Schooner after dark. Found all my companions in a *wonderment* at my long stay — adventures &c. &c.

Tuesday 16. Still wind bound. After breakfast went ashore to look at the orchards and gardens of the habitants. Met M. B. by accident.

Wednesday 17. At 11 a.m. got under way with a light breeze, and before dark entered lake Saint Clair

This lake is 30 miles long, and named after the American General S[t] Clair famous for his fight with the Indians by whom he was (if I recollect right) defeated more than once — but certainly in one desperate battle where he lost a great number of his men.[13] The banks of the lake (so far as I saw) are very low, and the country quite uninteresting. Sailed through the lake during the night with a gentle breeze.

Thursday 18[th] Wind light and not very favourable managed to get up the Saint Clair river a few miles — banks low — Country not interesting — Saw no well cultivated farms — passed a few log cabins A brig and two or three Schooners in our Company bound to lake Michigan.

Friday 19. Wind S.S.W. under way with a pleasant breeze. Aspect of the country much more pleasing as we proceed upwards. River very winding, which retards us very much, as we have to tack so frequently however we managed to outsail all the other schooners, but were pass'd this evening by the Brig an advantage over us that she owes to her top sails which look beautiful towering high above the trees that border both banks of the river.

Saturday 20. Sailing all day with a light breeze. At twelve o'clock at night overtaken by the S[team] B[oat]

[13] The lake was not named for General St. Clair, who was disastrously defeated in a campaign against the Indians in northern Ohio in the fall of 1791. A reference to this lake as early as 1686 occurs in an "Account of Detroit Post," in *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, 16: 127.

"Gratiot" ran down upon us, and hailing our Captain *ordered* him to lower sail and repair on board the steamer which he refused to do, meantime the Schooner was kept under way, the S. B. following or rather running paralell to us. After some altercation and loud talking by both parties our main sail was by request of D[ickson] and myself let down, when the S. B. immediately ran close along side and lashed to the Schooner. The Sheriff of Detroit and his posse then stepp'd on board and after blustering with the Captain of the Schooner about the irregularity of papers &c. requested to get the names of all on board. I ask'd what our names had to do with his official business on board — nothing in particular, but he would like to have them. no doubt, to blazon in your d——d scurilous newspapers I replied.

He was an ignorant brute and I longed to kick him. The S. B. being bound to Black river near lake Huron continued upwards with us in tow. Arrived at black river a short time before day.

Sunday 21. It turns out this morning that the Sheriff has a charge against us for some animals said to have been killed near the entrance to Saint Clair river by a party from the Schooner. The sailors deny the charge and so do our men, but it will not do, there is a strong guard on board, and I can easily see the object of the d——d rascals is to make us pay their demand (an imposition) of 150$. By G—d if the wind was favourable I would with twenty of our best men volunteer to cut out our Schooner and run over to the British side where they would afterwards meet with as hot a reception as some of them are destined to find in h—ll (if there is a hell — *as some doubt*)

As matters look rather serious D[ickso]n has thought it best to give the Sheriff and his loafers his d[ra]ft for $150. This arrangement was brought about by the interference of General McNiel of Boston who is here on business; with whom D——n is acquainted.[14] We are all much indebted to Gen[l] MacNiel for his courtesy and kind assistance in this unpleasant affair.

Three of the party and myself called in the evening upon the officers of "Fort Gratiot" two miles above Black river and near the entrance to lake Huron. These gentlemen received us very

[14] For a brief sketch of the career of Brigadier General John McNeil, Jr., see Nute, in *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, 10: 176 n. 7.

politely; apologizing for the villainous behaviour of the people of B.R. & expressing their regret that their duty as military men prevented them from giving us their assistance and advice when they heard of our difficulties — from the well known jealousy of the citizens towards the army and its officers. The garrison is commanded at present by Major Hoffman.[15] The other gentlemen whom we had the pleasure of meeting were Cap^{tn} S^{t} John, Lieu^{t} Bumford (son of Co^{l} Bumford of the Engineers) and Doct. Clarke. I mention their names because I wish to remember them and because it is a real pleasure to meet with not only civility but kindness from strangers, particularily after being treated as we were by the Sheriff and his unwashed followers, and Yahoos of *Black river,* but never mind we may yet "meet at Phillippi."

Monday 22 At noon left B.R. and cross'd over to the British side to await a wind. Black river is a d——d hole of twenty houses half of them grog dens, but according to its inhabitants it is destined soon to be a city of importance. It may before I revisit it Took a book and went a shore to look at the country — which is pleasing. Met a lady — (a very genteel and well dress'd one, for *an out of the way* country corner) who asked me if I had found a book at the same time looking very closely at the one I carried. I answered by handing her the book, when she blushed very prettily indeed, and said Oh! no Sir, this, this, is not the one, but I lost mine a short time since somewhere within a mile or two from this. Madam may I have the pleasure of accompaning you in search of your lost *treasure. granted.* Altogether it was a pleasing incident, and made some amends for my rude treatment on t'other side by the *black* rascals.

Voila mon episode — and days adventures.

Tuesday 23^{d} Last night we towed our schooner into lake Huron — which employed us nearly the whole night as the

[15] For a description of Fort Gratiot in 1834, as well as a reference to Major William Hoffman of the Second United States Infantry, see Jackson Kemper, "Journal of an Episcopalian Missionary's Tour to Green Bay, 1834," in *Wisconsin Historical Collections,* 14: 403 (Madison, 1898). Another description of the fort may be found in a "History of Fort Gratiot" reprinted from the *Detroit Free Press* of August 24, 1890, in *Michigan Pioneer and Historical Collections,* 18: 667–676 (Lansing, 1892).

current at the entrance from Saint Clair river is very swift and strong. Surf on the lake very high and our boat in getting off from the shore the first time filled — no lives lost, altho' one poor fellow narrowly escaped. Second trip of the boat (in which I was) more fortunate.

At day light the breeze died away. Made only 20 miles through the lake to day. Delighted with the appearance of the lake the water of which is so clear that we can see the fishes distinctly at a great depth. — perhaps 40 to 60 feet.

Wednesday. 24. Wind favourable. Course N.N.W. Sailed 70 miles. Passed the day reading Zenophon's Cyropoedia Saw three sail in the distance to the westward, perhaps tomorrow we may pass them as our "Wave" Sails very fast.

> Behold the threaden sails,
> Born with the invisable and creeping winds,
> Draw the huge bottoms through the furrow'd sea
> Breasting the lofty surge Shakspeare

Thursday 25. Made a good run last night. It being beautifully clear (as the moon shines till near day) remained on deck till near 1 o.c. this morning at 10 a.m lost our breeze — nearly becalmed. Attempted to read but was prevented by an altercation between two of our party, M^cB[ean] talking and acting very foolishly — besides giving us an unpleasant specimen of puerile fretfulness — common with characters of his *calibre*. If any obstacle or unforseen event interrupts the current of their desires they immediately vent their spleen in a thousand childish and vain exclamations. This I take to be one of the greatest foibles of too many young men who are obliged to endure privations to which they are not accustomed &c &c. But what can be easier or more natural (if the mind be previously prepared) than to endure with cheerfulness the different changes which the body may be subject to, and the fatigues and privations we all feel we must necessarily undergo.

Friday 26. Wind N.W. cold, hazy, and unpleasant. Slept on deck last night — got wet from the waves dashing over the Schooner. No prospect of getting out of the lake to day. Yet 80 miles from Sault S^t Marié.

Tuesday 30. We have now been four days among the islands and tacking and retacking in lake George & Mud lake endeavouring to find the ship channel to the Sault (having no pilot) Being so much longer getting onward than we expected — had to *exist* three days on boiled green apples that (by chance) we got from an apple pedlar's schooner that we over hauled anchor'd in mud lake, waiting for a wind. Some of our men (poor devils) sick and sullen. Rather a sour commencement these apples —would prefer them in the shape of cider, and so says D[ickso]n. M^cB[ean] the ill natured looks like a crab. "an' he crosses my path,["] he may find himself in the *situation* of Bob Acres, to whom, I think, he must be nearly related. Saw Drummond's Island with the remains of an old fortification on it — besides a number of other island[s] part of the very numerous group called the Manatoulin isles said to be more than 30 thousand in number. [16] Some of them are very beutiful, covered with fine trees and verdure to the waters edge, others are mere islets or barren rocks large enough for a bird to perch upon.

Near one of the isles we found a huron indian with his squaw. The poor fellow was surprised (as we were out of the ship channel) but not frightened; and gave us some excellent Salmon trout in exchange for a couple of handkerchiefs

Wednesday 31. *Sault Saint Marié* Arrived at this place at 10 a.m and anchored on the British side, opposite the establishment of the Hudson's Bay Company in charge of a M^r Nourse who was civil and polite to us. [17] Took a boat and cross'd over to the American side where there is a village of about twenty houses and a garrison of two Companies commanded by Major Cobb *U.S.A.* [18] The people of this place surprised to see us look so quiet and harmless, as the story of our affair at Black river has

[16] Manitoulin Island, the chief island in the group, lies a little east of Drummond Island. A description of the fortifications on Drummond Island in the third decade of the century is given in *Michigan Pioneer and Historical Collections*, 23: 411–413 (Lansing, 1895).

[17] A copy of William Nourse's letter of September 15, 1836, to John Siveright, describing Dickson and his party, is in the Canadian Archives, series G, Governor General's Papers, 78, no. 124.

[18] The place referred to is Fort Brady. For a description of this fort in 1830 see "M'Call's Journal of a Visit to Wisconsin in 1830," in *Wisconsin*

preceded us in the American Newspapers under the ominous head of "Pirates on the Lakes" with the rascally Editor's additions and embellishments.[19] D[ickson]'s name is the only one mentioned. Thank fortune, fate or whatever it may be, I resisted the impudent Sheriff and did not give my name "to be adorn'd by a newspaper tale", because it would give great anxiety, and cause much pain to my friends, else I would not care a farthing about the whole affair — foolish as it was. But Editors and particularly ignorant American Editors "make mountains out of molehills" "Pirates on the lakes" who ever read so egregious a *caption* to a ridiculous paragraph describing our personal appearance ornamented with huge mustaches &c &c Why did not the d——d fools say a la "Corsair" and the picture would be complete. I shall live (magre all this) to laugh over it "many a time and oft"

By the ghosts of Kidd, Lafitte, Dampier and the Devil who ever drem't that my mother's son was to be a *Pirate* (ha, ha, I must drown the thought in a bumper of old Johnson's aqua vitae.

Thursday 1st September. Went to the Garrison — had a good laugh with the officers about our piratical affair. Some persons actually believed the whole story of the newspapers.

Another paragraph says "A low black looking Schooner with raking masts. Sails fast, and looks suspicious" This is nearer the truth — but who would ever think of a pirate on the lakes. What is to be got paper money at 100 p ct dis[coun]t; and if there was aught else where is the way to escape. Why the person who talk[s] about it should be set down as a fool, and those who would beli[e]ve, accomodated with rooms in Bedlam if there is such a particular place in this outlandish land where to me, at present, all appears "one wide bedlam"

Historical Collections, 12: 183 (Madison, 1892). Brevet Major Waddy V. Cobbs was an officer of the Second United States Infantry. *Official Army Register,* 1838, p. 21, 33.

[19] In the *Detroit Daily Advertiser* for August 23, 1836, is an account of the arrest of Dickson's party. The heading reads, "Pirates on the Lakes." This is obviously the paper to which McLeod refers, for his quotations here and under date of September 1 are similar to the phrases of this newspaper article. A file of the *Advertiser* is in the possession of the Detroit Public Library.

3d I begin to feel dull, and wish we were "once more upon the waters" altho' it is neither save [*sic*] nor pleasant (so they say) to navigate lake Superior at this Season. Wrote to a number of my friends for the last time before I enter on the wild regions of the North & West. Many a time will I think of absent friends and ruined hopes by our lonely camp fires.

> The intrepid Swiss, who guards a foreign shore,
> Condemned to climb his mountain clifs no more,
> If chance he hears the song so sweetly wild
> Which oft his infant hours beguiled,
> Melts at the long lost scenes, which round him rise
> And sinks a martyr to repentant sighs.
> Pleasures of Memory.

This same habit of quoting and writing scraps of "popery" as my *orange friend* B——n says is a vile one, (I know and feel it) but what else can I do. I promised dear E——[20] a *buke* of some kind and in the present dearth of adventures of my own I must e'en put in some of the good things of others, besides it is a sort of pleasure to recur to my memory for passages of favourite poets read in happier days.

Sault St Marie (as I have already sd) is a small village at the entrance to the grand lake Superior. There is here a Cantonment of two Companies of very awkward American *Soldados* commanded by a Major Cobb a singular veteran who prefers any thing to a clean shirt and any duty but a military one. His 18 feet picket fort is his world and I verily believe his ideas never extend beyond the old saw mill above the fort where he is continually with his men patching, and *fiddleing* &c. &c.[21]

[20] "E——" was Elizabeth Magrane, a sister of McLeod's friend, Thomas Magrane of Montreal. In the copy of a letter to William Newhouse, found in McLeod's outfit book as fur-trader for the period 1840–43, the following remarks occur: "I recd a letter from Montreal — from T. M—— a long rigmarole, and touching, not very delicately, upon my former penchant for his sister E." The words "his sister" are crossed out in the original. To an earlier letter from Magrane in the McLeod Papers is appended a note by Elizabeth thanking Martin for the account of his travels.

[21] A description of the old mill race and saw mill belonging to Fort Brady is given by Mrs. Anna Reid Knox, in "Michigan State Rights," in *Michigan Pioneer and Historical Collections*, 30: 165 (Lansing, 1906).

There are here at present quite a number of Chippewas with their Wigwams on their return from the island of Mackinaw where they have been to receive their annuities for lands sold in this vicinity and along lake Superior as far westward as Chocolate river, an immense tract but of little value for Agricultural purposes, but there is said to be a vast deal of copper in the regions bordering on the lake, but there appears to be some doubt whether even that can ever be made available or no.[22] But at no very distant day there will be very extensive fisheries established at different points on the lake which if successful, (as we have every reason to believe they will be) they will prove a source of considerable wealth to this portion of Michigan.[23]

The best fish caught are the "white fish" which are delicious I think I prefer them to even Salmon. A large species of trout is also caught in abundance and a fish very large and exceedingly rich called by its Indian name Sis-Ka-wat which I think is also of the trout kind.[24] These are both excellent, and preferable to the "white fish" for salting, but not so delicate when fresh.

[22] The document signed by Hawgayosh and fifty-two other Indians at Michilimackinac, July 14, 1836, acceding to the amendments made by the United States Senate to the treaty of March 28, 1836, which ceded a large amount of Indian lands in Michigan, is published in 24 Congress, 2 session, *House Executive Documents,* no. 82, p. 9 (serial 303).

[23] McLeod's statement might lead the reader to believe that fisheries on a fairly extensive scale had not already been established in Lake Superior. As a matter of fact, Ramsay Crooks, on reorganizing the American Fur Company in 1834, had initiated a fisheries policy for that organization which was only second, if indeed not equal, in importance to the fur-trade policy of his business. In the very letter in which Charles W. Borup recounts the visit of Dickson's party to his post at La Pointe the following statement is found: "Our fishing promised fair after you left. They had at Fond du Lac 200 Barrels and in 15 days we got at our place 82 Barrels." See Borup to Crooks, October 22, 1836, in the American Fur Company Papers in the possession of the New York Historical Society. A photostatic copy of this letter is in the possession of the Minnesota Historical Society. At the time that McLeod was penning these remarks in the Lake Superior region Crooks was making a survey of the fisheries and the fur trade.

[24] "This fish is known only from Lake Superior, where it is common. It was first described from there as *Salmo siscowet* Agassiz." Ulysses O. Cox, *A Preliminary Report on the Fishes of Minnesota,* 47 (Geological and Natural History Survey of Minnesota, *Zoological Series,* no. 3 — St. Paul, 1897).

During our stay at the Sault S[t] Marie, treated with great kindness by M[r] Ermatinger and family. M[r] E. is an old indian trader and has given us some very useful information for our guidance in the Indian Country.[25] The officers of the Garrison (particularily Lieu[t] Burnet) treated us with much civility.[26] Old Major Cobb too was polite — shaved himself once during our stay and endeavoured to look amiable notwithstanding his stern military penchant for his 18 foot pickets and his paternal partiality for the old shackeling saw mill.

Indeed we have no reason to complain of any of the people of this hyperborean Corner, unless I except old Squire Johnson who keeps the only inn, charges most unrighteously, and is withall a d——d crab stick of an old fellow.

Here we had a ludicrous specimen of an American Election. Johnson our old crabstick and —— a Cooper Candidates. The cooper was a temperance man and turn'd out to his thirsty friends a barrel of beer. Johnson to ensure his return was more liberal and gave out a barrel of firey whiskey so it was *Whiskey versus Beer — Election, about 30* — but it would not do, the coopers friends were the most numerous and after first getting drunk on Johnson's whiskey the[y] carried the cooper nem. con.[27] on his *bier* which so enraged our host *Johnsing* that he foamed like an old boar — more, I think, at the loss of his ducats — no, his whiskey — than the election.

Sept, 12. Feel unwell to day, yesterday went across with my friend J. G. M[c]K[enzie] to the british side and got completely wet from running too near the Sault with our birch canoe and in the evening went to a small party at M[r] E[rmatinger]'s after my return at 11. Sat up the rest of the night with Dubay, and others, to the great annoyance of the grumbling host and his scarse less sour Xantippe of a wife. So between my shower bath

[25] Charles Oakes Ermatinger, son of a Swiss merchant of Canada, had settled on the Canadian side of the Sault de Ste. Marie sometime before 1814. Crooks and Robert Stuart to John Jacob Astor, January 24, 1818, in *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, 20: 25.

[26] I. R. D. Burnett was a second lieutenant in the Second United States Infantry. *Army Register*, 1838, p. 13.

[27] *Nemine contradicente*, that is, unanimously.

with McK—— hot bath (inwardly) and other agreeable follies I feel but indiferently well to day; thus it is

Our pleasant vices
Are made the whips to scourge us

but if I can get M. E[rmatinger] to take a walk with me as promised I shall be better on my return. A walk always (well or ill) does me a great benefit — ('tis your only virtuous medicine) but it should be a brisk one of five or six miles at least; none of your gentle snail creeping paces only fit for a dandy, a dame, or a Chelsea pensioner.

After this I shall abjure Sack (as Fallstaf's says) and lead a virtuous life.

Septr 14. To day saw off our friend J. G. McKenzie who returns to Montreal in consequence of ill health. We all regret the necessity of his return and I much fear he will not recover to join us next spring as proposed. A few months ago the poor fellow was in the bloom of health, now alas he is dying of a sudden attack — pulmonary I think.[28]

Doctor H[artnell] returns also — as I expected. He is one of those volatile characters who have not stamina to carry through any undertaking. Not long since he was all enthusiasm now he is quite discouraged at the accounts he has received of the dangers we *may* be exposed to, the fatigues we will have to undergo, the food we will have to eat — and *not to eat* &c. I suspect it is more through fears of having to fast occasionally than for any other cause he returns. So far he is true to the character (given) of many of his Countrymen — for he is an Englishman.

Our party has now dwindled down to a very small one, from numbering nearly sixty persons in all when we left Buffalo. Some have deserted, some left on the way sick, others return'd &c &c. With exception of two or three persons we have but little reason to regret these that have fallen off, particularily the Americans. They were d——d impertinent and useless fellows. Our sailors

[28] Mackenzie returned to Berthier, near Montreal, to spend the winter with his sister. A letter written by him in the latter part of April of the following year shows him still ill. For further accounts of Mackenzie, who was one of the leading spirits of Dickson's enterprise, see Nute, in *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, 10: 126, 134 n. 16, 136, 178, 179.

have to return with the Schooner as we cannot get her into lake Superior as we expected, from the information derived at Buffalo. We shall leave here tomorrow to cross the lake (that is to coast it, 540 miles on the south side) in a Mackinaw Boat our party will consist of

Gen[l] J. Dickson	Myself
A. R. McL[eod]	McB[ea]n
Green.	Hays.
Parys.	[Lindsey] [29]

McLaughlin. and six men with our guide Gaulthier a halfbreed Chippewa his wife and Child and three Chippewas that accompany him to assist in navigating the boat *in all twenty persons.* [30]

September 15. To day at 2 p.m left the Sault Saint Marie on board the Mackinaw with a gentle breeze which carried us about ten miles up the lake before dark. We encamped opposite an island (in the lake half a mile from shore) in a very pleasant spot Just before dark while we were pitching our tents an

[29] This name has been crossed out in the original.

[30] McLeod accounts for Hayes and Parys in his diary, *post,* p. 412–416, and what is known of Dickson's later history is given *post,* n. 86. Something, however, needs to be said of the other members of the party. Alexander R. McLeod, Jr., son of a factor in the service of the Hudson's Bay Company, accepted at the end of the journey a position offered by the company and remained in its employ in the Northwest till about 1840. In 1842 he appeared in Minnesota and became a well-known figure, especially noted for his magnificent physique and unusual strength. He died while serving with the Union Army in 1864, at the age of forty-seven. John McLoughlin also accepted a position in the service of the Hudson's Bay Company and remained in the Far Northwest until his murder in 1842. For more detailed accounts of these men see Nute, in *Mississippi Valley Historical Review,* 10: 129 n. 4, 136. William Greene was left behind at La Pointe on account of illness. Borup in his letter of October 22, 1836 (see *ante,* n. 23), states that his boat carried Greene as far as the Sault. Charles McBean went as far as the Red River settlement with the party, but what happened to him later is not known. The half-breed who was guiding the party at this time was a member of the Gauthier family, some account of which is given by Reuben G. Thwaites, in *Wisconsin Historical Collections,* 19: 179 n. 51 (Madison, 1910). Several Gauthiers are listed in a manuscript entitled "Pay Roll, 1843. Chippewa's of the Mississippi & Lake Superior. Cash Annuity 1843."

Indian woman and three very pretty indian girls came down from the hills behind bringing us some huckleberries for which we were grateful besides making them some presents in return, and sending Tobacco to their male friends.

16th This morning three Chippewas made us a visit bringing in return for the Tobc we sent them yesterday a number of very fine white fish and trout. After a parley and a smoke they left us promising to see us again if the winds should delay us on our voyage.

Sept. 17. Started with a fine breeze. our birch Canoe in tow of the Boat. About 11 a.m. D[ickson] McL[eo][d] myself and one man got into the Canoe for the purpose of trying to outsail the Boat. We were three miles out in the lake at the time, and while we were fixing the Sail of the Canoe &c. the boat continued on and got far a-head of us. Soon afterwards the wind changed, — blowing off shore — and continued to increase. the Boat was now nearly out of sight; and we began to perceive our danger, and regretted having left it. Our Canoe for want of ballast got unmanageable and we were obliged to lower sail and paddle towards the shore which we reached after a long exertion — running our frail Craft through the rolling surf high on the Sandy beach — where we abandoned it — and walked in pursuit of the boat along the sands (which on this part of the lake extend for very many miles) for nearly two hours, when we came up to it lying snugly to in a little harbour. We were well laughed at for our "Canoe adventure", and deserved it because the guide warned us of our danger besides assuring us that the boat could outsail the Canoe.

Sailed about forty miles to day and encamped at sun down on a gentle slope about ten yards from the beach. Weather mild. Feel unwell.

River Onatonagon 9 Oct 1836. Arrived here at 2 PM this day There is a Fur post here, and having letters to young Ermatinger, who has charge of this post we were obliged to put in to deliver them.[31]

[31] The Ontonagon River in Michigan empties into Lake Superior a little to the west of Keweenaw Point. Apparently the Ermatinger mentioned was

M^r E. with his family absent at La Point. Having forgotten our ink and papers at the Sault S^t Marie I have been unable to make any mem^o of our route through the lake this far but can say enough from memory.

First then, the distance from the Sault to La Point is 450 miles as we had to come, (That is by the coast) we are yet about 60 miles from La Point, consequently have been 24 days coming 390 miles

In this route we met with many dangers. At this season the great lake is continually in a state of agitation, and a Batteau with 21 persons and a quantity of Goods & provisions in it is a no difficult thing to swamp. A misfortune which we luckily escaped, a number of times. In making the traverse (of 21 miles) at long Point we fortunatly got a few hours of fair weather, but no sooner had we crossed than there sprang up a breeze which would have *immortalized* us all in a very few moments.[32] The Indians wait a number of days for good weather to pass this dangerous traverse, they then paddle their Canoes some distance from the shore and commence singing a hymn to the Great Spirit intreating him to give them fair weather untill they have crossed over, after which men women and children take their paddles and work silently but diligently until they have crossed. Indeed nothing can be more impressive than the simple but sincere manner in which these primative people worship the great Being. One instance of this I had the happiness to witness in our route thro' the lake. Upon a very calm night while at about 3 miles distant from what we all supposed an uninhabited shore we suddenly heard a number of voices singing. Upon enquiring of our boatman

the son of the trader at the Sault. In the pay roll cited in note 30, the name of James Ermatinger occurs in a list of the members of the La Pointe band.

[32] Edmund F. Ely gives a nearly contemporaneous account of crossing this dangerous stretch of water: "Friday Morning, at 2 o clk struck our tents, rounded the point proceeded down the shore two or three miles & commenced the traverse by the light of the Moon, with a good side wind out of the Bay. . . . after crossing proceeded, wind fair, to Point Ki-wi-na . . . we have been in places today where we must have perished if a sudden storm had risen." Entry for August 9, 1833, in manuscript diary on deposit with the St. Louis County Historical Society, Duluth. A copy of this diary is in the possession of the Minnesota Historical Society.

what these voices meant he immediately replied, with an air of great carelessness that it was nothing but some Savages praying and that it was their custom always to solicit the Great Spirit at the top of their voices more frequently however, they retire to some remote part of the wood, and having erected a long pole (with part of the bark peeled off so as to make it resemble a barber's pole) with a small piece of tobacco (as an offering) suspended to it, they there resort to pray. At other times they pray to the Miche Manitou (or evil spirit) entreating him to not harm them

They then say that there is no necessity to pray to the Kegie Manitou (or good spirit) as he never harms them. It is only when they wish to be successful in hunting or killing their enemies that they pray to the good spirit.

Gauthier our boatman who is a metiff [33] and an Indian trader (and who by the bye is a very civil fellow) informs us that no person unacquainted with this lake can form any idea of the dangers & difficulties attendant upon the navigation of it at this late season. It has frequently happened that the traders have been obliged to throw over board all their boat load of goods in order to save their lives. So far we have been lucky altho' we very narrowly escaped swamping two or three different times; but how the rest of our lake voyage may terminate 'tis difficult to say.

The appearance of the land along the whole coast of the lake is not at all favorable for agricultural pursuits. Indeed I am inclined to think that it will never be settled. There are, also, but very few good harbors for ships. I think we found but two, perhaps three, and these were not deep enough for vessels drawing more than ten feet water.

La Point 11 Oct^{r} 1836. Arrived at this place about 11 o'clock this morning and encamped near the Indian huts about half a mile from the American Fur Co's post. Upon our arrival we received a salute of three guns from the Indians. This place, on the map, is called "Middle Isle" & is very pleasantly sit-

[33] Half-breeds were quite generally known as *métis* or *bois brulés*. The former word appears in several spellings, including *métif* for the masculine singular.

uated. The principle post of the Am[erican Fur] Co[mpany] is on this Island. They derive great profit from the traffic in Fish which are caught in great numbers by their own people & by the Indians both at "Fond du Lac" and (I believe) among the Islands called the "Twelve Apostles" We were very civilly treated by the Gentleman in charge of the post at our arrival.[34]

Tuesday 12th Oct[r] 1836. This evening wrote to Gen[l] M[c]K[enzie] and M[r] R——e and forwarded them to M[r] Schoolcraft of S[t] S[t] Marie with directions to forward them to Canada.[35]

Wednesday 13 Oct[r] Left La Point about 1 P.M. today having procured the Batteau from Gauthier to take us to "Fond du Lac" it being impossible to get Canoes at La Point. Made only 7 miles this evening and encamped at the mouth of "Sandy River"

Thursday 14 Oct[r] 1836 Wind bound all day. Passed this day reading or rather studying Spanish.[36] Our Expedition has

[34] La Pointe is on the island now called Madeline Island. A letter in the American Fur Company Papers (see *ante*, n. 23) from Crooks to William Aitken, December 12, 1835, announces the change of the location of the principal post from Mackinac to La Pointe. The reasons given are that the change makes unnecessary old experienced boatmen to carry outfits clear to Mackinac and return and that the fisheries will center at La Pointe. The Reverend Sherman Hall, missionary at La Pointe, gives the following description of that place as he found it in 1831: "This is the name of the trading establishment on Magdalen Island, near the Southern Shore of Lake Superior. It is the headquarters of one of the Departments of the *American Fur Company*. . . . The principle traders connected with the department at Magdalen Island, are Messrs. [Lyman] Warren, [William] Dingley, [Charles W.] Oakes, [Samuel] Ashmun, [John] Holiday & Butterfield. Warren's post is at the Island; the others are from 100 to 200 miles distant. At the Island are about 150 permanent residents, exclusive of children. . . . Gardens can be cultivated and many vegetables raised. There is some [live] stock at La Pointe." The manuscript which contains this statement is among the Hall Papers in the possession of Mr. Ernest W. Butterfield of Concord, New Hampshire, photostatic copies of which are owned by the Minnesota Historical Society.

[35] Mackenzie was commissioned "brigadier general" in Dickson's "Army of the Liberator." Henry Rowe Schoolcraft was the United States superintendent of Indian affairs for Michigan, an explorer of the Northwest, and author of several books on the Indians and on his explorations.

[36] See *post*, p. 437 and n. 10.

caused much excitement here & our purpose has preceeded us many hundred miles. We have great hopes of success.

15th Oct[r] 1836. Left our encampment about 3 P.M to-day. Met M[r] Warren of the Am. Fur Co. near the *De Tour* he gave Gen[l] D. letters to the different persons in charge of the Fur posts in the interior, requesting them to aid us with guid[e]s, provisions &c to enable us to prosecute our journey to red River.[37] The old Gentleman expressed his doubts of our being able to get farther than Leech lake before the small rivers were frozen.

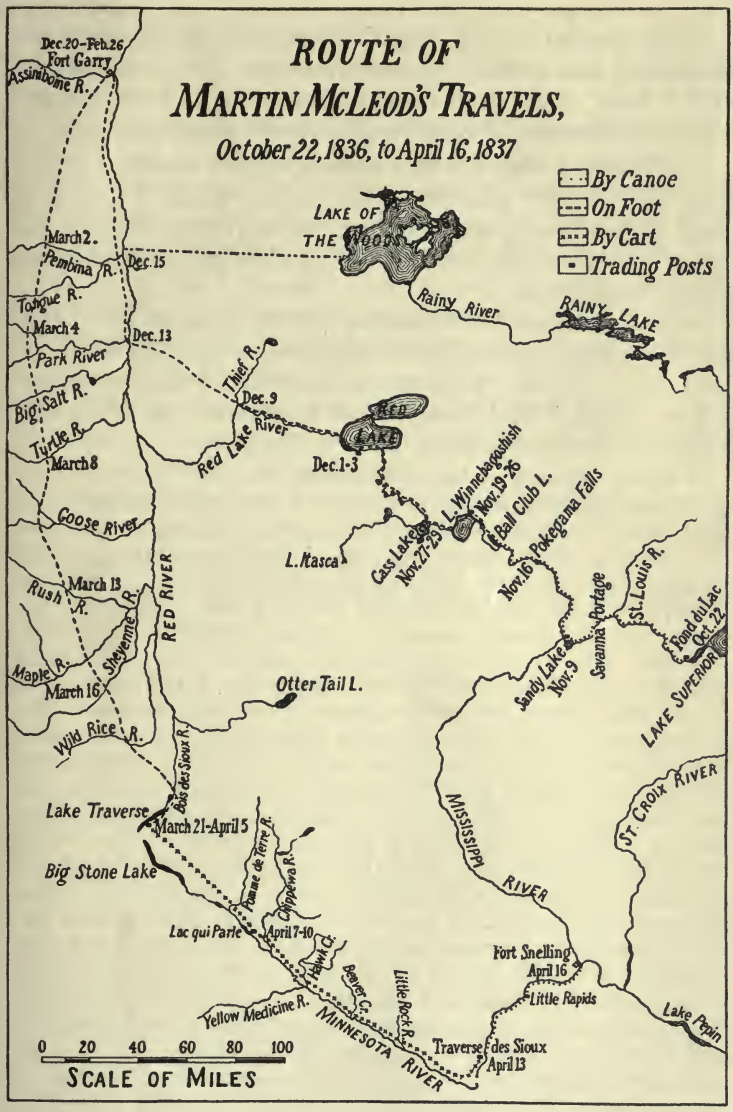
In the morning I went out to hunt and got lost in the thick wood. After rambling about bewildered, for more than five hours, came out to the lake about 3 miles distant from the encampment, and had to force my way thro a very thick underwood. Came to the camp quite fatigued.

16th Oct[r] 1836 Left our camp at day break. About 11 o'clock a severe snow storm commenced, and in a short time the wind off the lake increased so violently that it was with great difficulty we could keep the batteau from being driven upon the rocks which line the coast, in this part of the lake for many miles. The fur Co's boat which kept us company narrowly escaped swamping, being very heavily laden. After some difficulty both boats made the mouth of a small river, but which was too shallow to admit them, we then had all to jump into the water, up to our middles to unload the boats and pull them over the sand bar to prevent them from being filled with water.

Encamped, cold, and uncomfortable enough.

17th Oct[r] 1836 Cold, and unpleasant, wind still blowing violently from off the lake. No probability of leaving encampment today.

[37] Lyman Marcus Warren, in charge of the La Pointe station, was a well-known fur-trader in the Northwest. An account of this interesting character is given in the "Memoir of William W. Warren," his son, preceding the latter's "History of the Ojibways, Based upon Traditions and Oral Statements," in *Minnesota Historical Collections*, 5:9–12. A letter from Mrs. Julia A. Spears, daughter of Lyman Warren, dated Detroit, Minnesota, June 26, 1923, and addressed to the Minnesota Historical Society, states that her father came from Brockport, New York. The memoir gives Hartford, Connecticut, as the place of his birth. Both accounts agree, however, that he came to the Lake Superior region in 1818.


ROUTE OF
MARTIN McLEOD'S TRAVELS,
October 22, 1836, to April 16, 1837
By Canoe
On Foot
By Cart
Trading Posts
Dec. 20–Feb. 26
Fort Garry
Assiniboine R.
March 2
Pembina R.
Dec. 15
Tongue R.
March 4
Dec. 13
Park River
Big Salt R.
Turtle R.
March 8
Goose River
Rush R.
March 13
Sheyenne R.
Maple R.
March 16
Wild Rice R.
RED RIVER
Otter Tail L.
Lake Traverse
March 21–April 5
Bois des Sioux R.
Big Stone Lake
Lac qui Parle
April 7–10
Pomme de Terre R.
Chippewa R.
Yellow Medicine R.
Beaver Cr.
Hawk Cr.
Little Rock R.
MINNESOTA RIVER
Traverse des Sioux
April 13
Fort Snelling
April 16
Little Rapids
Lake Pepin
MISSISSIPPI RIVER
ST. CROIX RIVER
LAKE SUPERIOR
Fond du Lac
Oct. 22
St. Louis R.
Savanna Portage
Sandy Lake
Nov. 9
Pokegama Falls
Nov. 16
Ball Club L.
L. Winnebagoshish
Nov. 19–26
Cass Lake
Nov. 27–29
L. Itasca
Red Lake River
Dec. 1–3
Red Lake
Thief R.
Dec. 9
Rainy River
RAINY LAKE
LAKE OF THE WOODS
0 20 40 60 80 100
SCALE OF MILES

21st Octr 1836 For the past three days we have been detained at "Bois Brulie" river by a severe storm.[38] Extremly cold & many of the small streams nearly frozen. Short of provisions & placed on allowances of a biscuit each pr day.*

*[*Note.*] That is a cake about equal to a biscuit.

22 Octr Left Bois Brulie river at day break & arrived at Fond du Lac about 5 in the evening. After resting rowed up the St Luis River reached the AM Fur Co's trading house at eleven o'clock this night

Sunday 23rd Octr Visited the trading house of the A.M.F Co Very kindly treated by Mr Scott the gentleman in charge of the post.[39] Received much useful instruction from him respecting our route to Red River and also furnished (by him) with Canoes & a guide to conduct us to Sandy Lake.

[38] This is McLeod's spelling of Bois Brule River in Wisconsin.

[39] Though McLeod indicates that James P. Scott was in charge of the Fond du Lac post, the license for 1836–37 granted to William A. Aitken and now among the Sibley Papers under date of November 19, 1836, gives the following list of clerks for Aitken's department with the post for each, and it will be noted that Scott was scheduled for Sandy Lake: William Davenport, Leech Lake; Ambrose Davenport, Gull Lake; Allan Morrison, "Upper Red Cedar Lake" (Cass Lake); John H. Fairbanks, Red Lake; Charles Chaboillez, Rum River; Peter Crebassa, Fond du Lac; Alfred Aitken, Swan River; John Aitken, Rum River; James P. Scott, Sandy Lake; Jean Baptiste Landrie, Mille Lacs; Augustin Bélanger, Jr., "Lac Winnipic" (Lake Winnebagoshish); and George Bonga, "Lac Platte" (Platte Lake). Aitken was in charge of the whole northern part of what is now Minnesota, usually spoken of — following the old Northwest Company usage — as the Fond du Lac Department. Its chief post, however, was no longer at Fond du Lac, but at Sandy Lake. Besides the posts given in the list, there were many others, notably at Vermilion Lake, Pembina, Grand Portage, Otter Tail Lake, and the mouth of the Crow Wing River. Some of these, like the Vermilion Lake post, were permanent; others, like the Otter Tail, were temporary. Aitken, in a letter to Crooks, dated October 12, 1836, in the American Fur Company Papers, mentions the discontinuance of the Otter Tail Lake post. An excellent description and diagram of the Fond du Lac post is given in a letter from Borup to Crooks, January 2, 1836, in the American Fur Company Papers. Photostatic copies of these letters are in the possession of the Minnesota Historical Society. Lieutenant James Allen gives a list of the posts in Aitken's charge in 1832 in *Expedition to Northwest Indians,* 31 (23 Congress, 1 session, *House Executive Documents,* no. 323 — serial 257).

In the evening went up with our baggage &c to the rapid at the commencement of the 9 mile portage & returned again to the Co's house.

The appearance of the Country here is very pleasing but (I think) the soil is not favorable for agricultural purposes.

The Indian population in this section of lake Superior do not

[*Note.*] Lake Superor is 490 miles long from E to W. by the South Coast as we came it is 640 miles long

exceed 40 (that is hunters), and the principle object of the Fur Co in keeping a trading house here is the purchase of Fish(white fish & Trout) from the Indians, and also to afford a medium for sending their outfits to the traders in the interior.

24 Oct^r^ Commenced making the "Grand Portage" which is about 9 miles long.[40] Had to climb hills nearly 50 f^t^ high and many of them almost perpendicular

We all had to assist in carrying our luggage &c in loads of 100 lbs each & upwards (in order to hasten through as quick as possible) and had to make four trips each.

Made three miles, and encamped fatigued enough after our *first day's Portaging*

Ely was located as missionary at Fond du Lac at the time the expedition passed. The following entry in his diary is of interest:

Sabbath — 23^d^ [October] About 1 °clk this Noon, the Boat, whh left for Lepointe on the 8^th^ arrived. Another Boat from the Sault. St Maries also arrived — chartered by Gen. Jas. Dickson — & manned by his soldiers. The company consist of the Gen. a Polish refugee officer — 5 young men ranking Lieutenants — & 7 soldiers. They are on an expedition against Mexico & it is the present intention, if a sufficient force shall be collected, to make a descent from the passes of the Rocky Mountains upon a Cer-[tain] mexican City & destroy it. Gen. D. says, every man *shall die,* as they will not be able to keep the City if their men are spared. The Gen. called on us in the Evening, bringing a letter of Introduction fr[om] Br[other] [Sherman] Hall. Had a long conversation with him, concerning his plans. He keeps nothing back, except the city in view. His plan is to form a Government in California of the scattered Indian tribes of the west — Cherokees, Creeks, & all others who may be disposed to join them.

[40] Dickson's party now begins the oft-traveled route to the Mississippi by way of the St. Louis River, the East and West Savanna Rivers, and Sandy Lake. This was the usual way of reaching the upper waters of the Mississippi from the Great Lakes. The Grand Portage, which is not to be confused with the better-known portage by that name between Lake Superior and the Pigeon River, was the longest carrying-place in the route.

25 Oct. 1836 Continued our portaging, but found a better road (if road it can be called) than yesterday, and felt much less fatigued.

26 Oct. Again to the d——ble portaging. Met an Indian while at breakfast who informed our guide that the upper part of the S^t^ Louis River was frozen which quite discouraged (I mean disappointed) us and discouraged our little metiff guide so much that he said it was useless for us to go on

27 Oct. Arrived at the end of the long Portage and set to work preparing our Canoes for an immediate start *Ice or no ice* we intend having a peep at it our motto at present being *"Push forward"*

Friday 28^th^ Oct 1836 Remained at encampment at the upper end of "Grand Portage", preparing Canoes &c Sent Charlo,[41] our guide to the Fort for more gum for our Canoes

Guide returned in the evening and informed us that it was impossible to proceed.

Half determined to remain till the ice be sufficiently strong to walk upon.

Saturday 29^th^ Oct^r^ 1836. Started with Canoes in the Rapids got to the end of "Portage de Coteaux" with much difficulty.[42] Late in the evening I walked with Charlo the guide to the Fort a distance of 15 miles through miserable roads.

Sunday 30^th^ Oct^r^ Returned from the Fort, alone about 2 P.M. having procured a new guide (the first having refused to obey his master, and come with us) and also a few other necessaries. Our party quite cheered with the prospect of getting on. This day finished getting thro' Portage de Coteaux a distance of 3 miles. New guide arrived in the evening.

[41] This is probably Charles Chaloup, a half-breed of the Lac du Flambeau band of Chippewa, a list of whom is given in the pay roll cited in note 30. Ely mentions him many times in his diaries for 1840, 1841, and 1842, notably under dates of February 11, 1840, and March 30, 1842. Usually he writes the name "Charlo," but at times it appears as "Charles," and under date of January 21, 1842, it seems to be "Charliou."

[42] The English equivalent for the name of this carrying-place is Knife Portage. See *post*, 5:33 n. 11.

31st Oct^r^ Started with our new guide (a smart Chippewa) and got through about half of the "Grand Rapids" but with great difficulty. [43]

1st Nov^r^ 1836 About 3 P.M. got over the Grand Rapids where the Indian left us.

No appearance of Ice in the S^t^ Louis All delighted with the prospect of soon getting, at least, as far as Sandy Lake before the ice comes upon us.

Wednesday 2^d^ Nov. 1836 Came up S^t^ Louis R about 40 miles and encamped above the "Glukie Rapids["] [44]

Nov. 3^d^ 1836 Entered east Savannah river about 3 P.M. and got near to the entrance of the Prairie where we encamped.

This river is extremely serpentine in some instances we made windings of 6 to 7 miles without getting one mile direct in our route.

Nov. 4^th^ 1836 Early in the day entered the Prarie, and through an error on the map (which by the bye we found very incorrect in many instances) went up the wrong channel which led us into an endless swamp

Found our error when we had lost nearly the whole day

Returned, and proceeded [45] Saw three immense moose deer but could not get near enough to have a shot at them

[43] For the location of the Grand Rapids, see *post*, 5:33 n. 12.

[44] This name does not appear on contemporary maps of the region but they show rapids just below the mouth of the Cloquet River, and the similarity in the two names when spoken leads one to wonder if McLeod did not mistake "Cloquet" for "Glukie."

[45] At the junction of the St. Louis and East Savanna rivers the former comes in from the north and the latter from the general direction of Sandy Lake to the south. With a carrying-place between them the East and West Savanna rivers form a good canoe route to Sandy Lake. McLeod designates some branch of the East Savanna as the Prairie River. Contemporary maps show the Prairie as a branch of the West Savanna, and the stream still bears that name. The map which Dickson's party used must have been quite incorrect, indeed, if it showed Prairie River as a branch of the East Savanna River. Schoolcraft notes that the East Savanna River forks twelve miles above its mouth, but fails to state up which branch his party went. Henry R. Schoolcraft, *Narrative Journal of Travels from*

Encamped in a grove of poplars.

Nov^r 5^th 1836 Got to the Savannah Portage which we found so *damnable* that we had to wade in water up to our hips for nearly 3 miles and carry our trunks &c &c to boot.

6^th & 7 Nov^r Finished our Portage. In this place our party shot 23 hares in a few hours. This Portage is 8 miles.

8^th Nov^r Started in west Savannah river. Came to a small lake which we found frozen and had to break our way through. Made 2 portages 60 & 450 yards & encamped

Wednesday 9^th Nov^r 1836 Gen^l D[ickson] and Capt Parys left encampment to proceed to Sandy Lake on foot. About 11 o'clock started in Canoes & found great difficulty in getting through water so shallow.

2 P.M. entered Sandy Lake which is surrounded with lovely scenery, and is itself one of the most delightful lakes I have ever seen. On our arrival at the AM. F. Cos trading house situated on the Missisippi near the upper end of the lake found our friends had arrived before us both those in the second Canoe and the Pedestrians

Met a highland welcome from M^r Morrison the person in charge of the Sandy Lake establishment [46]

Thursday 10^th Nov^r 1836 Making preparations for an immediate start up the Missisippi 300 miles to Lake Winnipeg. Weather still mild hope to succeed in getting there with Canoes. Observed a number of coffins containing bodies placed on poles about 12 feet high Learned that that is frequently the Indian mode of depositing their bodies in this part of the Indian Country.

Detroit Northwest through the Great Chain of American Lakes to the Sources of the Mississippi River in the Year 1820, 220 (Albany, 1821).

[46] Allan Morrison, younger brother of the William Morrison who claimed to be the first white man to have visited Lake Itasca, the source of the Mississippi River, came to the Northwest about 1820 and became an important fur-trader. In a short manuscript sketch of the fur trade he states that his brother William built the original fort at Sandy Lake. Lieutenant Zebulon M. Pike in his *Expeditions to Headwaters of the Mississippi River,* 1: 139 (Coues edition, New York, 1895) records that this event took place in 1794. The American Fur Company's post, however, was not on the site of the original fort. The relative position of the two posts is shown on Lieutenant Allen's map, which accompanies his *Expedition to Northwest Indians* (serial 257).

Friday 11 Nov^r Left Sandy Lake at 1 P.M. Came up the Missisippi about 10 miles. River very winding. Land apparently good and covered with large timber, mostly elm, but not, in many places, favorable for farmers as the river o'er flows in the spring

Saturday 12^th^ Nov^r 1836 Made about 50 miles. River still very winding. Weather pleasant.

Sunday 13. Came 40 miles. Weather cold.

Monday 14. Still cold, & very unpleasant paddleing. Came 30 to 40 miles.

Tuesday 15. Exceedingly cold, with a snow storm. Obliged to encamp early. Fingers half frozen.

Wednesday 16. Passed the rapids and arrived early at the Falls of Peckagama Made the portage & encamped about 5 miles above the Falls.[47]

Thursday 17. All day paddleing through immense Praries or fields of grass 7 to 8 f^t^ high. Encamped at P^t^ du Chane.[48]

Friday 18 Still in the Praries. River frozen in many places. Ice to break. much difficulty in getting through. 3 P.M. came to the mouth of lacross river found it frozen. Made portage to get into lake lacross (1/2 mile)

Crossed the lake after dark & fell in with Indians who guided us to a fishing lodge on the N.W. side of the lake, near which we encamped.

Saturday 19. Started about 9 a.m. Found passage at the upper end of the lake frozen Obliged to break the ice a long distance to get near the shore in doing so broke the Canoe in which I was in. Had all to jump on the ice and haul her up to prevent her from sinking. Made a long Portage* to little lake

*[*Note.*] about 3 miles

[47] For a discussion of the various spellings of the name of the Pokegama Falls, just above the present town of Grand Rapids, see Pike, *Expeditions*, 1: 147. Schoolcraft, in his *Narrative Journal*, 241, 242. gives the number of rapids below the falls as nine and the length of the portage around the cataract as 275 yards.

[48] McLeod's French spelling is not always of the best. Pointe aux Chênes, now called White Oak Point, is described by Ely in his diary for May 30, 1834, thus: "that point itself is a most beautiful spot of *Oak* & rich soil — there are old Indian Gardens on the Pt. we stopped & built a fire. The Indian name is Memishimishika."

Winnipeg. Left canoes behind us at lac lacross. Arrived late at night at upper Winnipeg where we saw an Indian dance and a variety of feats performed by Indians in a state of nudity. Mem° smoaked the Calumet and danced for a few moments, at their "finale".[49]

Sunday 20th Remained in hut all day. dull & melancholy
Monday 21st In hut all day.
Tuesday 22d do do
Wednesday 23 Making fur Gloves for myself
Thursday 24 Preparing for Journey
Friday 25 Out shooting. No luck
Saturday 26 All the party started on foot, with dogs & traineaux to carry our Trunks. Provisions, blankets, &c &c carried by each individual. *Grub for eight days.*

Mons Belange's residence at upper lake Winnipeg is very pleasantly situated on the west side of the Missisippi. The old man has been in the Indian country fifty years, has a squaw wife two sons & a daughter — and a number of grand children and appears quite happy in his solitude. We were civilly treated during our 6 days stay there.[50]

[49] The traveler by canoe today could pass through these same bodies of water, but on his map "lac lacross" would be Ball Club Lake, and "upper Winnipeg" would be Lake Winnibagoshish.

[50] The dog sleds which Dickson's party procured at Monsieur Bélanger's cabin were the customary vehicle for winter travel in the Northwest. The full French name was *traineaux de glace.* "These sleds are made of a single plank turned up at one end like a fiddlehead." Pike, *Expeditions,* 1:141. Anyone who is curious to see one of these relics of early days in Minnesota will find a specimen in the museum of the Minnesota Historical Society. Augustin Bélanger is listed as a *voyageur* of the Northwest Company in the Fond du Lac Department in 1804, in Louis R. Masson, *Les bourgeois de la compagnie du nord-ouest,* 1:410 (Quebec, 1889). Lieutenant Allen states that Bélanger had lived at this post for several years "without once going below." Allen also gives an interesting description of Bélanger's garden, cows, and surroundings, and on his map shows the location of the post. He notes that bearskins comprised the bulk of the packs from this post. *Expedition to Northwest Indians,* 40 (serial 257). On the map which accompanies his narrative Allen shows Bélanger's post on the north shore of the lake, thus disagreeing with McLeod as to its location. The Reverend William T. Boutwell, in his diary for July 9, 1832, also states that the post was on the north shore of the lake. Change

We left upper lake Winnipeg about 10 a.m. crossed the lake on the ice (15 miles) Walking difficult and exceedingly fatiguing as there is no snow as yet upon the ice.

Sunday 27. Started two hours before day, by moonlight. Morning cold, but delightfully clear and pleasant. About sun raise took the ice on the Missisippi inlet to lake Winnipeg followed it about 15 miles, and at 11 a m came to Red cedar lake (or "Cass" lake as it is called in the map) here we waited an hour for some of our party who had not come up.

Crossed Cass lake (3 leagues) found it bad walking on the ice which is as "smooth as the surface of a polished mirror" (as our novelists would say)

At 4 P.M. arrived at the Fur Co's station at Cass lake. All the party much fatigued from the difficulty of walking on the smooth ice. Came 30 miles today.

In the evening dined a la Turque on excellent venison furnished by M^{r} Aiken* J^{r}

*[*Note.*] 25th Jan^{y} 37. Just heard that M^{r} Aiken has been shot dead by an Indian.[51]

of location for trading posts, however, was not uncommon as may be seen from Boutwell's statement that Bélanger "has been here two years." Boutwell accompanied Schoolcraft in 1832 and later was a missionary at Leech Lake. The original of his diary is lost, but a copy made by J. Fletcher Williams is in the possession of the Minnesota Historical Society. Ely in his diary on May 27, 1834, mentions fifteen cows belonging to Monsieur Bélanger and a "very acceptable present of a few pounds of Excellent Butter." A manuscript "List of Persons employed by the American Fur C^{o} at Fond du Lac & dependencies 1834" in the American Fur Company Papers, Miscellaneous, 1:38, a copy of which is in the possession of the Minnesota Historical Society, gives the names of Augustin Bellanger, Jr., Joseph Bellanger, Pierre Bellanger, and Paul Bellanger "dit Katoken." Jean Baptiste and François Bellanger, as well as those already given, are listed in the pay roll mentioned in note 30. Probably these are sons and grandsons of the original Bélanger.

[51] For an account of the murder of Alfred Aitken, half-breed son of William A. Aitken, see Warren in *Minnesota Historical Collections*, 5:484, 485. The story of the murder as given by a juror for the trial of the Indian differs considerably from that related by Boutwell, who at the time resided at Leech Lake, near the scene of the murder. The latter's story, if correct, exonerates Aitken from the charge that his improper attentions to a beautiful young squaw occasioned the murder. The elder Aitken had

Monday 28th Obliged to rest as a number of the party are unable to proceed from the fatigue of yesterday's march and the bruises which they received from frequent falls upon the ice. Indeed all our men were so "*done up*" that they did not arrise yesterday till near dark.

Remained in house all day reading "The author of Cyril Thornton's Annals of the Peninsular Campaigns"

Dont' think much of the work. Not so good as Napier's.

Tuesday 29. Left Cass lake. Had bad walking all day viz on small lakes. Ice very smooth & difficult to stand upon. Came about 30 miles. One of the men gave up early in the day and had to encamp 5 miles behind us with a comrade who remained behind with him.

Wednesday 30th Still on small lake & bad walking. At the entrance of Rice Lake I fell through the Ice and got a severe ducking as it was deep (about 15 ft) Got out without assistance and started as fast as possible for the encampment which had been made by one of our party who had preceeded us but having mistaken the direction, passed the camp 5 miles and was nearly frozen before some of the party (who had followed me) came up, as my hands were so benumbed that I could not light a fire.

Thursday 1st Decr About 12 o'clock arrived fatigued enough at Red lake a large lake from 60 to 70 miles long and 15 to 20 wide it empties its waters into Red river which flows into great lake Winnipeg

Mr Fairbanks the person in charge here treated us with much hospitallity. He appears to have been many years in the Indian Country as he has six fine children by a native woman. He speaks the Chippewa language very fluently and is otherwise well acquainted with Indian affairs.[52]

the murderer taken to Prairie du Chien for trial. Strange to relate, the verdict was "not guilty" and the Indian was released. This is said to have been the first criminal case tried under the territorial law of Wisconsin. Boutwell Diary, December 8, 1836; John H. Fonda, "Early Reminiscences of Wisconsin," in *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, 5:271 (Madison, 1868).

[52] John H. Fairbanks was born in Champlain, New York, in 1802, and came west with Lyman M. and Truman A. Warren in 1818. The record

Friday 2d Decr Feel very fatigued and have a severe pain in one of my ancles, which troubled me slightly before I commenced walking. Poor prospect; as I have yet to walk a march of about 16 days. We find much difficulty in procuring a guide, which we are told is absolutely necessary in going through the immense praries between this and the Brulé settlement on Red river as it frequently happens that those who have been through the Plains, loose themselves (upon a second or third attempt), for some days.

Not having any thing to amuse myself with during this day's rest I, by a wonderful chance, got hold of very old copies of "The lady of the Lake," the 2d vol of the "Scottish Chiefs["] and the 2d vol of Thaddeus of Warsaw With these prizes I thought to enjoy myself, but was painfully disappointed as my ancle would not let me rest with comfort.

I then thought to dissipate the pain by exercise and went out shooting. Saw some Pheasants, which are numerous in this Country but exceedingly wild.

Had no luck. So I set this day down not as a day of rest but one of disappointment.

In the evening went to an Indian hut to pass a few moments with their peculiarities

By the by I have hitherto forgotten that these children of nature are great gamblers in their own way, frequently staking their little all — Such as their blanket leggins Pipe Belt Tobacco Tomahawk &c &c

The only game I have seen them play is called the "shoe game" and is their principle and favorite one. Their manner of playing it is this.

They spread a blanket sufficiently wide for 6 or 8 persons to set round it, and then place on it four shoes (or Indian moccasins) along side each other. One of the players then takes four bullets and having [made] a mark upon one [of] them with his

of an interesting interview between Fairbanks and Joseph A. Gilfillan, giving the main points of the old trader's life, is among the manuscripts in the possession of the Minnesota Historical Society. It was Fairbanks who established the first post at Cass Lake. According to Mrs. Spears (see *ante*, n. 37) Fairbanks had six sons and two daughters.

teeth he places, three of them under three of the shoes and retains the fourth

One of the party then bets, and uncovers two of the bullets (which is his privilege) Should either of those uncovered be the marked bullet the better has not won but [has lost should neither be the marked one] [53] he then strikes one of the two remaining shoes which he knows must hide the proper bullet unless the person who places the balls should have retained the marked one; which very frequently happens. In that case the play goes round to the next and so on till some one has guessed where the marked ball is. He then is proclaimed the winner amid all manner of shouts and singing. Tobacco is the principle stake and is put down by all the party at the commencement and he that first strikes the winning bullet takes up all the stakes.

During the progress of the game some one or two of the party sings. Not unfrequently however they all join chorus, at the top of their voices.

Such is the manner these simple but happy people pass many of the long winter evenings and while standing by, I could not but envy their happiness yet upon reflection, to me, they appear miserable How noble and truly philanthropic the attempt of regenerating these people The[y] are, I feel confident, susceptible of all the refinements of civilized life. Still, perhaps, they would not be so happy —

If ignorance is bliss
'Tis folly to be wise

Sat 3^{d} Dec^{r} At 2 P.M. left Red lake and proceeded down the lake in the direction of Indian encampments where all our party, (but four,) who had gone on before us, had been directed to await our coming up: but they having taken the wrong path we missed them, and it growing dark before we could find the Indian lodges, we were three or four hours wandering in the wood till at last we met two Indians who guided us to their lodges where we passed the night, and were hospitably treated, more so perhaps, as the men, masters of the different lodges, about fifteen, were absent, and none left at home but the females,

[53] The passage enclosed in brackets has been crossed out in the original.

and a few of the young lads. I say so because the Indians of this place bear a bad name. But as I have ever found it, we were friendly and generously treated by the gentle sex. Here we found our two Indian guides who informed us that our party had encamped near a small stream, which led off the path we had followed, about 6 miles behind

Sunday 4th Decr Early this morning our party came up having passed the night in some vacant lodges which they discovered near the path they had followed and mistook for the appointed rendezvous.

Took the Ice on red lake and travelled about 30 miles to day.

Monday 5th Decr Weather severly cold, At 8 a m entered upon the red fork of red river,[54] had travelled but a few miles when one of our party got his face badly frozen. Obliged to stop and light a fire. In the evening came to three Indian lodges where we were treated with a small piece of boiled Bear's meat, and then went on with renewed vigor.

Tuesday 6th Decr Weather milder Still on the ice which is so smooth that it is almost impossible to stand upon with any degree of security and so exceedingly difficult to walk upon that some of the men frequently requested to be left behind to die, in preference to suffering continual bruises from frequent falls which the poor fellows could not avoid and which their timidity made more frequent and more severe.

Wednesday 7th Our route yet through the red fork, but to day we made a number of traverses through small praries covered with thick underwood to avoid the windings of the river, which like all rivers in this Country, is very crooked.

Thursday 8th Our route nearly same as yesterday, but obliged to 'camp early, one of our party (McL) from weakness, being unable to continue his journey all day.

Friday 9th At 11 a.m. came to Voleuse or Thieveing river so called; from a band of Sioux Indians, who were in the habit

[54] Joseph N. Nicollet's map shows Red Lake River flowing west from Red Lake and adds, "also called Red Fork River." The map accompanies Nicollet's *Report Intended to Illustrate a Map of the Hydrographical Basin of the Upper Mississippi River* (26 Congress, 2 session, *Senate Documents*, no. 237 — serial 380).

of lurking near it for the purpose of stealing from the traders who formerly passed by this route into the great Praries.[55] If the trading party happened to be small the Indians seldom hesitated to take their lives, for the double purpose of getting their scalps and goods.

We were not, however, under any great apprehension, as at this season all the hunters and Indian braves are confined to their hunting grounds.

After enjoying a short rest we entered upon the Prarie; all the party delighted to get off the ice and pleased with the prospect of a speedy termination to our fatiguing journey.

We had proceeded on the Prarie about 15 miles when we came to a grove of poplars, where we discovered a number of hares. Some of the party being very weak and all of them fatigued we proposed an hour's rest while our sportsmen should go and enjoy themselves among the hares. Our guides laid down their packs, and with evident satisfaction joined the persons who went in search of hares

In the mean time the rest of the party wandered about in various directions. Some in search of water, others on the look out for a good place to encamp as we purposed to have a feast of hares — and each person as he came out of the wood, after hunting, continued his route in the direction the greater number of the party had taken. In this manner we continued our ramble for five miles, till we discovered a favorable spot for encamping. In the evening when all our party had mustered we found our guides missing, but suspected no harm as they had appeared very happy and cheerful all day. But long after dark, when we had fired a number of shots, and the guides not coming up we began to have serious apprehensions that they had deserted; and dispatched a person in search of them, who returned about midnight, with the unpleasant intelligence that he had

[55] Thief River is a tributary of Red Lake River. A picture of the fur-trade activity in the vicinity of Leech Lake, Red Lake, and the Red River is contained in chapters 4 and 6 of the journal of Alexander Henry in volume 1 of Elliott Coues, ed., *New Light on the Early History of the Greater Northwest* (New York, 1897). These portions of Henry's journal indicate that there was a well-established canoe route between Red Lake and Red River in the heyday of Northwest Company enterprise.

found (unopened) the packs which the guides had carried — their carrying straps taken off, and their bundles provisions &c gone. This was indeed melancholy proof that the young rascals had abandoned us. And for what reason or cause — We all formed a thousand conjectures.

To add to the painful reflection that we were in a wild and unknown country with but a few days allowance of miserable food and at a great distance from any settlement *without guides,* we were all night annoyed by the dismal howling of wolves in every direction round our camp and connected with the cries of this animal we had fears of an attack from the Sioux Indians, as has frequently happened in the very Praries in which we were then encamped. These Indians when they have hostile intentions gather their band together by imitating the cries of a wolf or the screams of the owl, and never attack but at the dawn of day. We had been informed of their habits, and frequently warned to be upon our guard. So that this night — what from loosing our guides — the cries of wolves, or supposed enemies, few of us slept, although all were wearied with fatigue & weakened with long privations.

Saturday 10th Decr At day break we were summoned together, and informed by Genl D[ickson] that as our guides had desserted and as we had but five days provisions, and had yet to travel near three hundred miles in a strange country of which we had not an accurate map, he left us all to act, each man for himself, to either follow him, as it was his determination to trust to fortune and push forward, or return to Red lake and there wait untill they could procure a guide. I had previously made up my mind to continue my route at every risk, and all the rest with the exception of two preferring to follow Genl D., we made immediate preparations to start.

In the meantime McL[oughli]n & McB[ea]n the *two* who decided upon returning endeavoured to persuade a number of the men to return with them by pointing out the great dangers they were exposing themselves to — Such as starving, or freezing to death *"casting lots to eat each other"* &c &c

For the first 15 miles we had come in the Prarie we found the marks of an old track which formerly led to Pembina when

there was a post there of the A.M. F. Co. and we had had strong hopes that we would be able to find it in different places, (particularily where the grass was long) sufficiently distinct to indicate the proper route but this morning all our hopes were clouded by the appearance of a snow storm. However we had taken our determination and were not to be easily shaken [56]

We each shouldered his pack, and having bid a melancholy adieu to our friends, who said they had not a hope of seeing us again and promised to inform our friends of our fate should we perish, we entered upon the path and proceeded for a number of miles in great silence not so much as uttering a word to each other.

At length we came to an immense open plain without the appearance of a tree upon it as far as the eye could reach except in a W.N.W course where we could distinguish trees about 25 miles distant.

Here we lost the path completely but having held a consultation we determined to proceed across the plain in the direction of the trees and endeavour if possible to arrive at them before dark as we did not like the idea of sleeping out in the plain without fire to warm us or water to cook our food. Long after dark we came to a ravine in the Prarie which contained some ice but not a drop of water. Here we determined to remain till morning as the trees were still at a great distance, as near as we could distinguish. We found a small clump of underwood and having made a small fire with a few branches, and eaten a handful each, of parched corn with some water (still more gratful)

[56] Doubtless the American Fur Company traders made use of Red River carts in their summer journeys between Red Lake and Pembina, for the dog sleds, known to have been commonly used on this route in the winter, would hardly have left a well-defined track. Boutwell's diary contains several references to intercourse between Leech Lake and the Red River settlements by American Fur Company traders, notably in the entries for February 7 and 14, March 16, and October 11, 1834. The first entry cited shows that Boutwell had a keen desire to visit the Red River settlements and that he was deeply disappointed when William Aitken's proposed business trip to that quarter in the spring of 1834 was cancelled, for Boutwell had planned to accompany the trader.

melted from the ice we lay down near our little blaze and endeavoured to sleep but the attempt was fruitless.

We passed a most miserable night The wind blew strong from the N.W. and so cold that we had difficulty to keep ourselves from freezing as we had but one blanket each.

Sunday 11 Dec[r] Never was the dawn of day more welcome to *miserables* than this to us. To save time our allowance of rice was boiled in the night but the continual blowing had so filled it with charcoal and ashes that but two or three of the party could stomach a few spoon fulls of it. The rest (myself among the number) travelled all day without eating a morsel or drinking a drop, and the snow that we so much dreaded the day before would now have been more welcome than gold.

Our course to day was W.N.W. We saw a great number of Pheasants but they were so very wild that all our attempts to kill, some of them, failed.

In the evening came to a fine stream of water running through a fine grove of elms. The sight was hailed with delight and here we determined to encamp. A few moments after our arrival an Indian with his gun in his hand and a bullet in his mouth came cautiously creeping up to us. I discovered him and conjecturing his intentions, immediately ran up to him and offered him my hand which he accepted with a feigned smile, at the same time (as near as I could understand) observing that he was glad to find we were Englishmen and friendly to his tribe adding that the bullet which he then held in his hand had been intended for one of us, supposing us enemies when he "first saw one or two" (myself and a nam[e]sake) enter the wood. [57]

This Savage was ["]monarch of all he surveyed" and for some weeks past had lived with his squaw dogs &c upon a bear which he had killed while on his way to some hunting ground at a distance from the Prarie.

We engaged him to conduct us to the point nearest Pembina on red river and having made him a few presents he returned to his squaw.

[57] By "namesake," McLeod probably refers to Alexander R. McLeod, Jr.

We were now pleased with the hope of getting near enough to the settlements without serious accident, & be able to make our way afterwards without difficulty.

Monday 12th Decr Started with new guide course W.N.W. by west Weather pleasant but strong appearances of a snow storm

Doubts as to the honest intentions of the Indian from his having changed the course which we had reason to suppose the correct one. At 1 P.M. encamped on a branch of the stream we left in the morning, as it will take all day to morrow to cross the plain to the next camping place.

Tuesday 13 Decr Started at day break. Guide reluctant to accompany us from the appearance of a storm which at this season in a great plain is dangerous to the traveller. After considerable difficulty persuaded him to come; but still doubtful of his honesty from his continually inclining towards the west

At 11 a m discovered trees to the W.N.W & W about thirty miles distant which the Indian said were on the banks of red river and near Pembina to which place he had agreed to guide us.

Late in the evening, after a long and fatiguing journey came to the bank of the river which sight gave us a variety of pleasing feelings

Crossed the river and immediatly changed our course to the North had gone but a few miles when the Indian requested his pay (a blanket) saying that as he had left his squaw alone with but little food he was anxious to return, assuring us that a few hours walk would bring us to Pembina near which we would find on the river bank the old cart track which in three days would lead us to the settlement at the Assiniboin. His story was plausible. We suffered ourselves to be duped and the rascal returned, (no doubt) laughing at our credulity. I however had had my doubts all the time & opposed they [*sic*] payment of the cunning fellow but it was of no avail.

Having gone some miles and perceiving no appearance of the settlements which formerly existed at Pembina[58] — and being all

[58] In 1823, after five years' establishment, the Selkirk settlers at Pembina, suspecting that they were located south of the boundary line, removed farther down the river to the mother colony at the junction of the

much fatigued we encamp'd near what we thought a large stream flowing from the Praries into red river, but upon cutting the ice we discovered to our disappointment, that it was a pool of stagnant mineral water

Hunger obliged us to cook half our remaining p[in]t* each of

*[*Note.*] We had been obliged to leave with the guides wife some of our rice.

rice with the mineral water and either from its effects or that of some bears grease (which I had got from the squaw for a hkf) we were nearly all taken severly ill in the course of the night

Wednesday 14th Decr So unwell that it was with difficulty I could walk ten minutes at a time without throwing myself down in the grass. Our route to day from p[oin]t to pt on red river across the immense plain which extends to the west 15 or 20 days journey

No appearance of Pembina and having got on an old cart track on the Prarie hope that we have left it behind us and far to the right. Made a miserable sort of broth (this evening) of a few handfuls of rice boiled with water, and to add to our

Assiniboine and Red rivers. Another factor leading to removal was the wet and low character of the land at Pembina. See Alexander Ross, *The Red River Settlement: Its Rise, Progress, and Present State,* 75 (London, 1856) and J. V. Arnold, *The History of Old Pembina,* 101 (Larimore, North Dakota, 1917). It is unlikely, however, that all the half-breeds and Indians left Pembina. In fact Major Long on his visit in the summer of 1823, after the colonists had departed, mentions "about 300 persons in all," inhabitants of the village, most of whom were of mixed blood, who were away on a buffalo hunt when he arrived. With the addition of "the few that remained," the village could not be called depopulated at that time. See the entries for August 6, 7, and 8 in the manuscript diary in three volumes kept by Major Stephen H. Long on his expedition of 1823. McLeod's references, however, indicate that there was no settlement at Pembina in the fall of 1836. As the years between the entries in Long's journal and those in McLeod's form a very obscure period in the history of the place, it is impossible at present to account for the abandonment of it. In the forties it again became a fur-trading post of some consequence, and the census of 1850 gives it a numerous half-breed population. The Minnesota Historical Society has manuscript schedules of the 1850 census for Minnesota, including the population schedule for the Pembina district.

misery, boiled without salt, it having been left at one of our encampments some days ago by the negligence of the men.

Thursday 15th Started without tasting food Route on the old cart track till 1 P.M. when we lost it

Genl D[ickson] having started first continued his course directly West towards a pt of wood about 15 miles off which he took for one of the bends of red river

At the same time myself and three others directed our course towards an opening which we perceived in the wood about ten miles off in a N.W. course.

Upon our arrival at the opening we immediatly discovered that we had taken the right course and awaited the coming up of the men who fortunately for them had not seen Genl D. and had followed us. Here we found a river 8 yards wide flowing into red river and immediatly suspected that it was Pembina river where we should have been left two days before by the Indian. It was only 2 P.M. but we thought it best to encamp and await the coming up of Genl D in the event of his discovering his error before dark.

Friday 16th This being my third day without food (except upon one occassion a few spoons ful of rice water —) I arose early and went in search of game, but had not proceeded far when I discovered Genl D's track upon the snow which had fallen in the night He had not it appears found his error until he had gone about 20 miles off the right course — when he came upon Pembina (as we afterwards learnt), river which he followed down to where it empties into red river There before day break he pass'd within 200 yards of our camp and continued on towards the settlements in the hope of speedily overtaking us or falling in with habitations.

While we were preparing to start we were surprised to see two men with a horse & cart crossing the prarie towards us and immediatly supposed that we were near settlements — but upon their coming up were miserably disappointed to learn that we were yet at Pembina three days journey from our present destination. He could give us no information of two of our party (Genl D[ickson] & Mr P[arys]) the latter having continued his journey the day previous, when we encamped) and all the food

he could spare was a small rib of beef about 2 ozs each. This we boiled in a pot of water eagerly eat and then went on our way cursing the rascally Indian who had deceived us having guided us to the nearest point, from his hut, on red river in order to get his blanket. Not careing for us who had left ourselves without food to share it with him in the hope that his knowledge of the Country would speedily guide us to relief.

About 3 P.M. the wind changed while we were in the middle of a Prarie traverse and in a short time it became so severly cold that before we could make to the wood for shelter four of the men were so severly frozen that they could with difficulty reach the camp. All this night we were obliged to sit up and keep on a very large fire to prevent ourselves from being frozen to death.

Nearly all the party were woebegone and looked miserable.

Saturday 17th We had not crawled more than about 10 miles this morning when we discovered 3 men making towards us.

They proved to be Mr P[arys] (one of our party) and two Canadians who had come out in search of us. Mr P. after he left us on the 15th continued on his route all night in the expectation of finding some habitation, and about 3 in the morning met with a person returning from the settlement to his shanty with wood about 25 miles from Pembina. Fortunatly this person had with him a cart load of provisions & prevailed upon Mr P. to accompany him to the Shanty. The weather becoming severly cold & we not coming up Mr P. became fearful of our safety knowing that we were without food. This induced him to come in search of us bringing the two Canadians and Provisions which never was more welcome to half famished wretches.

The men devoured so eagerly that in a short time they became sick. In the mean time nothing had been heard or seen of Genl D[ickson] since the morning of the 15th and we had serious apprehensions for his safety as when he left us he had not a morsel of food with him nor even a blanket to protect him at night nor any means of lighting a fire. We immediatly despatched one of the Canadians and one of our party with food in search of him — and then went to the Shanty where we passed the rest of the day.

Sunday 18th Early this morning we left the shanty — having left there two of the men who were unable to walk any longer During our journey this day we discovered Genl D's foot prints different times and had strong hopes that he had arrived in safety at the settlement about 45 miles off.

This night we suffered much from the cold, being obliged to encamp in a small ravine in the Prarie where we were exposed to a severe N.W. wind which blew violently all night. Nearly all our blankets were more or less burnt and some of the men got their cloths & limbs burned — from being obliged to lie so near the fire. Thus while one side was freezing the other was in danger of being injured by the fire

Monday 19th Decr We did not leave the camp till 11 o'clock being fearful of exposing ourselves on the Prarie — the cold being so intense — but having no provisions we were obliged to start and after wrapping all our blankets round us we again took our weary way I had on Flannels, a Blanket Cappeau a thick Blanket wrapp'd round me and over all a very thick Pilot cloth Cloak and on my feet 3 pr Stocking and 2 pr of Indian Moccasins and yet with all my exertions could scarsly keep myself from being frozen. All the men got their faces feet and hands severly frozen in walking about 15 miles. At length we came in sight of Hay stacks a proof that we were near some settlement and soon after met a Metiff with a horse an[d] train bringing provisions to us. Behind one of the stacks we lighted a fire and eat some dried Buffalo meat. From this person we learned that Genl D. had arrived at the settlement the day previous two hours before the persons who had been sent in pursuit of him. He (Genl D) had been frozen in a number of places and otherwise suffered much.

Early in the evening came to settlements met Genl D. who was happy to find that we had escaped the severity of the weather without loosing any lives. We were not the less so to meet him again alive.

Tuesday 20th Decr Came to Red River settlement to the residence of Mr Millian* one of the wealthiest farmers in the

*[*Note added in pencil.*] Maximillian Gouta

settlements Here we took up our lodging for the present as there is no inn in the Colony,

Wednesday 21st In house all day saw but a few of the Inhabitants yet. Can say nothing about them.

Thursday 22d Very unwell from the effects, no doubt, of eating strong food after being so long living upon what merly kept soul & body together.

Indeed, upon reflection I wonder much how we ever got through our journey.

Upon our departure from Red Lake we each carried a knapsack of cloths & provisions (rice and parched corn) for twelve days — short allowance — which in all weighed about 50 lbs to each person. Upon this most miserable food (the only kind we could get) we had a very long march to make (as we came, about 500 miles) at a very inclement season where sometimes we had to encamp without either wood or water. most of the men were broken down by previous fatigue & privations. In a word our prospect was truly miserable, yet we got through, *and without guides* — to the great astonishment of many of the oldest voyageurs in this place. The whole distance we had travelled on foot from the 26 Novr (— as we came) is about 645 miles during that time we lived upon a pt of boiled rice each pr day and were 4 days without food of any kind except two ozs each of meat and a small Partridge divided between 9 persons.

25 Decr (Christmas day) In house all day — unwell — ten thousand reflections — never passed so dull a holy day before. In evening visited my old polish friend Mr P[arys]

Long chat with him about his unhappy country. Thinks he never will see it again unless the tyrant Nicholas should die within a few years and a change takes place in favor of the polish exiles.

Mr P. served under Ramarino and left his country immediatly after the fall of Warsaw — to avoid the fury of the Czar.[59]

Another year has fled:—

How strange the past; How doubtful the future. This day a year ago I was on my way to visit a dear friend — three thousand

[59] Warsaw capitulated to czarist troops under Paskevitch, September 8, 1831.

miles distant — and here I am now in a strange Country without a friend* — unknown and unregarded. n'importe I have hope

*[*Note.*]

And what is friendship but a name
A charm that lulls to sleep
A shade that follows wealth and fame
And leavs the wretch to weep
8th Jany 1836[1837].

still, for my companion, and there are other days in the womb of time. 31st Decr 1836.

Sunday 1 Jany 1837. Went to the Roman Catholic church. People poor and ignorant. Priest apparently dull and stupid. All bowing and chaunting — the mere mockery of religion, yet no doubt acceptable to the Deity when offered in sincerity.

2d Jany 1837. This day 1836 was with my dear E—— wonder if I am forgotten [60]

Had hopes then that are forever lost — Gone — Sacrificed for a bauble.

"Thirst in snow covered Countries"

Travellers have not deemed the fact worth mentioning, and therefore, no one who has not suffered can imagine or believe that during winter, man is exposed on the cold and snow covered plains of North America to the most painful of privations, — that even while walking on frozen water, he is agonized by parched & burning lips — and that by snow, eaten under such circumstances, the thirst of the traveller or hunter is proportionally increased.

When out in either of these capacities the agony sustained by them from thirst is often very great — it is truly painful while it lasts and contrary to the sufferer's expectation, he finds that by eating snow, his mouth is more and more inflamed — and his desire for drink fearfully augmented — while a lassitude comes over him which water only can dissipate.

It is to be observed however that it is only on the plains that the experienced hunter or traveller is exposed to such hardships

[60] See *ante*, n. 20.

That occurs frequently in this Country where the traveller's route is for the most part through wide plains — covered with long rank grass and snow — stretched out in all directions presenting a smooth, white unbroken surface terminating in the horizon

Every one going to any distance at this season, carries as an essential article in his equipment, a small kettle in which he melts snow, and boils water. To allow the water to boil is a necessary part of the process; for if the snow is merly melted the water has a smoked and bitter taste, and a drink of it is far from refreshing.

On the contrary, when the water is allowed to boil, and then cooled by throwing into it plenty of the purest snow, no spring water is more delightful to the taste or more satisfying to the wants of the thirsty traveller". Jan^{y} 1837.

22 Jan^{y} 1837.

A home brewed Ball

Having nothing particular to do, yesterday, I strolled down to the settlement — that is the thick settled part — which is made up of all colors and all breeds — Scotch, English, Irish and Canadian half and quarter breeds — with here and there, by way of relief, a canny son of Scotia, or a genuine pat — although years from his dear native isle — still retaining all the peculiarites of his Countrymen and not the least unwelcome among the motley group — a few straggling Canadians who came to the Country years ago to "make their fortunes" and after years of toil, attached themselves to squaws — still hoping to slip off, and return to the land of their fathers, and pass their last days with their friends or perhaps with the still dear object of their youthful affections, when in slipt a jesuitical prying priest who by dint of praying and frightening compelled them to unite in "holy matrimony" with their d——d ugly squaws (rather a bitter pill) and adopt their children — certainly a just retribution, if not altogether a pleasant one — as these amorous aborigines are neither delicate or particular, frequently having many children by different persons. "All is fish that comes into their net" notwithstanding what has been "said and sung" about their romantic love, and undivided attachment — but to the "Ball"

A friend and myself were invited to "make two" at a party which was to be given at the house of a batchelor aspiring to the *enchanting* chain of matrimony. At my entrance I found myself in a room about 18 ft square — the only room in the jolly batchelor's house — surrounded by a congruous assemblege of all the "fashionables" of the place seated on boards placed on sacks of grain and extending all round the room — the fire place excepted.

The discordant squawling of some half doz; of "perpetuations" drew my attention from the more attractive gaze of a group of dark eyed female brules when to my horror I beheld chucked away in a corner a number of self indulging and most indulgent mamas with their hopeful progeny straped on ornamented boards or Indian cradles, after the manner of the *natives*.

This gave me sufficient evidence that in addition to the two most important persons in the room — the fidlers — we should not want accompaniments in the shape of *sounds most natural*

The ball was opened by four juveniles of mixed breed, — certainly not more than six years old. After a few preliminary blushes, and a sufficient display of antics these hopefuls retired amid the plaudits of their admiring parents and friends.

The next on the boards were two pairs of middle aged "magnates"

The two *gentlemen* were from distant and different parts of the old world — one a real "Yorkshire" the other a blessed Corkonian. Their partners were both dark eyed houris of the metiff blood. The happy and excited hibernian set the whole house in a roar of admiration by his wonderful display of the light fantastic toe. I have seen mountebanks in "all their glory" but never before did I behold a man, either in or out of a ball room cut such fantastic capers. Pat was determined (as there were strangers present) to out do all the rest in politeness, that characteristic of his Countrymen, at every turn made a most profound bow and immediatly recovering himself strutted off with evident self satisfaction

The englishman felt he was out done and was modest; the females done their best but were evidently not at home in that department of the "fine arts". Jigs and reels were the order of the night.

All the party appeared to enjoy themselves most outrageously and although there was a great lack of females and female charms these dear obliging creatures neither appeared fatigued nor displeased with themselves.

The master of the *ceremonies* appeared to be the only unhappily situated person in the room The continual and general thirst made this person's calls to the cellar very frequent; that could only be had access to at intervals — while the *bow string* was relaxed — when down slipp'd our worthy "*master*" and there he had to remain until the jig or reel was finished, when he was once more admitted to the regions of bliss. Liquors of all kinds in this territory are scarce — some times not to be had. Spirits are occasionally used Wine only heard of

The good batchelor failed in procuring either; his ball could not be put off — what was to be done. Why man says he to one of his friends, I have barley and ye ken there is no lack of "hops" All modern refinements, those innovations on conviviality were dispensed with and that night we all got glorious on "home brewed" ale.

Mem^{o} Wrote to A L M & J G M^{c}K[enzie] Montreal and forwarded the letters by the H[udson's] B[ay] Co[mpany]'s Express 20 Jan^{y} 37.

25 Jan^{y}. 37. Arrived this evening, the two persons who returned from us on the Prarie 10th Dec^{r} They went back to Red lake and having procured two Indian guides set out from Red lake about the 11 Jan^{y} — being 14 days on the route. From them I learnt of the death of M^{r} Alfred Aiken who resided at Red Cedar lake. He was shot dead by an Indian who lived near his trading post. M^{r} Aiken was a Metiff, son of M^{r} Aiken a partner of the American Fur Co. and [a] young man much esteemed for his many good qualities. Among which, to my own knowledge, he possessed those of modesty and unassuming kindness. [61]

[*Note.*] The Indian who killed M^{r} Aiken has been taken and is now in chains at Fort Snelling awaiting the arrival of the St[eam] B[oa]t when he will be sent to Prarie du Chien for trial S^{t} Peters May 1837.

[61] See *ante*, n. 51.

Buffalo hunting in the West

The 1st season of the Buffalo hunting commences about the 15th June and is continued to the 1st Augt The 2d season commences in Sept and terminates late in the fall, generally about the 1st Novr leaving time sufficient to return home before the cold weather sets in. I allude to the Brules hunting as the Indian's who inhabit the Buffalo country kill these animals at all seasons.

The Brules generally set out with 500 to 600 carts drawn principally by oxen Their wives and daughters accompany these carts for the purpose of preparing the meat which is done by striping it from the bones and spreding it upon a scaffold of poles elevated from 3 to 4 ft from the ground under which they build a fire of the Buffalo dung. in this manner they continue to dry the meat as fast as it is killed by the hunters. It requires the flesh of twelve of the largest animals thus prepared to load a cart drawn by one ox — and allowing 600 carts to the spring season would make 7,200 of these animals killed in about a month by the Brules alone not including any of the various Indian tribes — such as the Sioux the Mandans, Gros ventres &c all of whom inhabit the Buffalo Country and destroy these animals by thousands and add to this too that in the spring nearly all the animals killed are cows the meat of the male not being good after a certain season. These different causes account for the rapid decrease of the Buffalo within the last few years. I have been informed by a Brule hunter that at the last hunt they had to go a journey of 15 days to the west 6 farther than ever they went before.

In the fall hunt besides the dry'd meat they make Pemmican and also bring home a great quantity of the meat in its natural state.

The Pemmican is made by drying the meat as I before mentioned it is then beaten into small pieces and placed into a sack made of the Buffalo skin — into which is pour'd a quantity of the melted fat of the animal. when it cools, it is pressed into the sack which is sewed up. in this manner it will keep for 3 or 4 years The sacks are various sizes but the common sizes are from 100 to 150 lbs The usual number of horsemen attend-

ing these hunts are about 500. however not more than from two to 300 act as hunters and are those who possess the swiftest horses.

The hunters are exceedingly expert notwithstanding which many accidents occur I have seen many of them with broken legs broken arms & disabled hands this latter accident frequently occurs from their manner of loading their guns They never use wadding. The powder is carelessly thrown — in more or less quantities — the ball is then tumbled in upon it and off goes the shot.

This is done to save time, and it is almost incredible what a number of shots one person will discharge in riding the distance of 3 to 4 miles the horse at the top of his speed.

A gentleman who has lived many years in the Buffalo Country says that upon the least Calculation four to five hundred thousand of these animals are killed yearly on this side the Missouri

Red River Colony[62]

Assiniboin belief in futurity

The Assiniboins believe, that in another life, to obtain enduring happiness, they have to climb a very high and steep mountain, the ascent of which is so difficult and dangerous that it requires many attempts, perseverance, and great fortitude to gain the summit, but once there a delightful and boundless plain is spread before them covered with eternal verdure and countless herds of Buffaloe and the other animals which they delight to hunt; and that they will find all their friends who left this life before them enjoying an uninterrupted course of happiness, dwelling in beautiful skin tents which ever appear new.

Those who have done ill in this life and have been successful enough to gain the summit of the hill — are there met by the dwellers of the happy plain, and those who knew them in this life, who bear witness against them. They are then immediatly thrown down the steep and should their necks not be broken never again attempt an ascent.

[62] Two blank pages which follow this heading in the original diary indicate that McLeod intended to describe the colony.

Those who have done good in this life are welcomed with unusual joy and immediatly admitted to all the privileges of their never ending hunting and happiness.

" This is equal to the happy valley in Rasselas

Sunday 26 Feby 1837. Left La Fourch Red River Coloney Territory of Hudson's Bay this evening and came 3 miles up the settlement to prepare for an early start to morrow to S^{t} Peters 750 miles from this — on foot.[63]

Monday 27 Started at day break. Cold with a sharp head wind. About 10 a m a severe snow storm commenced obliged to take shelter in the house of a M^{r} Micklejohn. Came about 9 miles. 5 p'm cleared off prospects of a fine day preparing snow shoes &c for Journey.

Tuesday 28th Started at day break bad walking — snow deep — crossed the long traverse and waited till dogs came up. At 3. p'm had to encamp. Dogs too fatigued to proceed. Dogs never travel well the first day.

March 1, 1837, (Wednesday) Left encampment at sunraise found it exceedingly cold sleeping out after having been in a house for two months. Came 40 miles to day. arrived at a shanty where we found 14 persons (Men, women, & children) without food. They had been living for 7 days on an occasional hare and pheasant. The hunter's life is ever a precarious one. We relieved them with Pemmican from our stock for the journey, which will in all probabillity be the cause of our fasting some days before we reach lake Travers the first trading post from this — distant more than 400 miles.

March 2^{d} (Thursday) Left shanty early — morning pleasant struck off into the plain at the head of Swamp river,[64] from thence made a long traverse to a point on Pembina river fifteen miles from the head of [it? — *manuscript torn*] where we encamped, having c[o]me more than 40 miles to day. This is my third day on snow shoes and I feel excessivly fatigued.

[63] The main part of the Red River settlement was located at the forks (*la fourche*) where the Assiniboine River joins the Red River.

[64] This stream is called Swampy, or Petopek, river and is described as "a mere brook" in William H. Keating, *Narrative of an Expedition to the Source of St. Peter's River*, 2:80 (Philadelphia, 1824).

3d March (Friday) Had a cold & stormy night unable to leave camp before 9 o'clock Wind ahead till 12 o'clock when it changed to the North & brought with it a snow storm which caught us on the prarie many miles from shelter. 3 p.m. came to a small wood on a bend of Tongue river one of our party, Mr P[arys] not having come up we encamped. Mr P. has no snow shoes, he persisted in not bringing any with him which may yet lead to unhappy consequences as he is unable to keep up with us in the plains, and should we be separated by a storm he will inevitably perish Indeed the poor fellow this very day, said that "he would perish in this journey". Feel miserably fatigued, and my feet are severly blistered with the strings of the Snow shoes. At every steep the blood from my toes oozes through my Moccasins.

We came through a beautiful prarie to day inclosed on three sides by woods which can be distinctly seen from the middle of the Prarie

On the N by the wood on Pembina river — W by Pembina Mountain S. by the trees bordering Tongue river forming almost a complete circle of at least 100 miles.

4 March (Friday) Saturday [65] Came a long distance to-day, snow deep and very heavy which clogs the snow shoes & makes them exceedingly fatiguing to carry. Encamped on a branch of Park river. Find Major Long's Map of this Country very incorrect [66]

5 March 1837. (Sunday) Encamped at 2 p.m on a bend of the 2d branch of Park river near the Coteau des Praries — having come about 15 miles only. [67] Snowing fast which obliged us to encamp.

[65] In the original manuscript the correction is added in pencil.

[66] Keating in his *Narrative*, 2:39, states that Park River is "of the same size as Big Salt river, and is formed by the union of several insignificant streams." Major Stephen H. Long's map, appended to volume 1 of Keating's work, shows Tongue River as a stream joining Pembina River from the south.

[67] Nearly all books of early travel in the vicinity of Red River give careful descriptions of the Coteau des Prairies. This remarkable height of land is the watershed from which start streams flowing into the Red River, the Missouri, and the Mississippi.

All the rivers in this Country are very crooked, and the timber growing upon their banks is in every instance (that I have seen) in proportion to the size of the stream.

6th March. (Monday) Bad walking. Snow deep. Encamped at 2. p.m on Saline river one of our party being too fatigued to proceed

Came about 18 miles through an immense burnt prarie.

The farther Southward we come the more snow we find

Banks of the Saline very high with timber (Elm & Oak) growing down their sides to the edge of the stream which is 5 yards wide

Near the mouth of this river there is a salt factory which must prove profitable as salt is worth 16/ Sterling P[e]r Bus[hel] at R[ed] R[iver] settlement 250 miles hence.[68] The water here is perfectly fresh and palatable, it is from a small lake about 20 miles from this downwards that the Saline flows

7th March (Friday) Tuesday[69] Last night excessivly cold. Today unable to leave camp. So stormy that it is impossible to see the distance of 10 yds on the plain, and the distance to the next wood or place of encampment is more than 30 miles — which would endanger our lives should we attempt to cross the plain in a storm. Such, is one of the many disadvantages encountered by the traveller in this gloomy region at this inclement season.

8 March 1837. (Wednesday) Wind North & piercing cold on the prarie. Crossed the great plain and arrived at Turtle river at 3 p.m where we encamped. Came 30 miles.

9 March (Thursday) In camp. Wind N.W. impossible to travel on prarie without endangering our lives.

10 March. (Friday) Excessivly cold and stormy till noon. Came a long distance to day

Encamped long after sun down on a branch of Goose river. Feel very fatigued — my feet cut and swollen from the continual use of the snow shoes which however I now begin to like and

[68] Keating mentions several salt springs along the Red River and its tributaries. He states that the Pembina settlers were in the habit of procuring salt on the Saline rivers. *Narrative*, 2: 39, 63.

[69] In the original manuscript the correction is added in pencil.

prefer keeping them on where there is but little snow & where they might be dispensed with. I also find (sore as my feet are) that I can travel a greater distance in a day with, than without them. Such is custom!!!

11 March. (Saturday) Unable [to make] the "grande traverse" (50 miles) to Shienne river the day being misty and the land marks which guide the travellar on the plain not visible [70]

Came a short distance & encamped on the lower tributary of *Goose river*

12th March (Sunday) Started at day break. route principally over immense hills not a tree or shrub visible. Saw 13 Buffaloe — one shot at by the guide but not killed though severly wounded. [71] Mr P[arys] unable to keep up with us, afraid to loose him as the drift filled up our tracks which obliged us to wait frequently for him, consequently we were unable to get across the plain to a place of encampment

Obliged to take up our place of rest for the night in a pond among a few rushes the only shelter for miles round in this dreary & monotinous region. During the past months in moments of extreme suffering I have seen and felt the interposition of a ruling and merciful providence

This evening while we were all suffering the severest torments for want of water, and without hope of getting any for many hours, the guide espied at a distance the carcases of 2

[70] McLeod follows closely the spelling of geographic names as given on Long's map. The present spelling of the name of this stream is Sheyenne River.

[71] The guide who accompanied the party was the famous Pierre Bottineau. See *post,* p. 418, and Nute, in *Mississippi Valley Historical Review,* 10: 135 n. 19. Mr. William Bottineau of Plummer, a son of Pierre, has told the writer much of the story of this expedition as he heard it from his father. His version of Dickson's motives is that the "general," having been robbed and abused in other ways by the Mexicans, desired to have revenge. When he reached the Red River settlement the Hudson's Bay Company refused to honor his drafts, being unwilling to lose its best hunters. Thus Dickson was stranded without money or equipment and had to abandon his enterprise. Mr. Bottineau also adds graphic touches to the story of this journey to Fort Snelling; for example, he tells how his father had to use the butt of his gun on McLeod to keep the latter from freezing to death.

Buffaloes recently killed. being a hunter himself curiosity led him to the spot when lo! to his great delight and our relief he found a few small pieces of wood brought there by hunters some days previous, by which means we were enabled to melt a kettle of snow.

13 March (Monday) Passed a more comfortable night than we had expected. Morning miserable — having to creep out from under our Buffalo skins, tie on our snow shoes, and take to the plain to warm ourselves. No fire! no water! no breakfast! I took a small p^{s} of frozen Pemmican, and eat it with a handful of snow — at the same time walking as fast as possible to warm myself. Soon after we started, a violent storm came on. Guide said we were lost, and would all perish — advised him to take a direct course, as near as possible and for that purpose to keep before the wind. At 3 p.m having walked since day break more than 30 miles we perceived through the drift a clump of trees where we arrived soon after happy to escape passing a second night on the plain where it is more than probable we should have been all frozen to death.

The guide says we did not come much out of our route and that we are on a branch of the Shienne river called *the river of Rushes*

14 March 1837. (Tuesday) Last night so cold could not get a moment's sleep. To day in camp. Guide unable to go on with sore eyes.

15 March (Wednesday) Last [night] as cold as the former. Day pleasant. In camp. Guide still unable to "see his way."

16 March (Thursday) Came through two praries and encamped on Shienne river.

17 March (Friday)!!! This morning when we left the camp the weather was very mild and pleasant. Guide discovered tracks of a deer and went in pursuit of it, mean time M^{r} H[ayes] M^{r} P[arys] and myself directed our course across the plain towards a p^{t} of wood on Rice river; suddenly (about 11 o'clock) a storm from the North came on that no pen can describe We made towards the wood as fast as possible it was distant about 3 miles I was foremost, the dogs following close to me, M^{r} H. not far distant, M^{r} P. 2 miles behind. In a few moments nothing was perceptable, and it was with difficulty I could keep myself

from suffocating — however I hastened on and in a short time caught a glimpse of the wood through a drifting cloud of snow. I was then not more than 300 yd^{s} from it (as near as I can possible judge) at that instant I also saw M^{r} H. who had come up within 30 yd^{s} of me and called out that I was going the wrong course exclaiming "Keep more to the right." I replied "no, no — follow me quick["] I perceived him to stoop, probably to arrange the strings of his snow shoes — an instant afterwards an immense cloud of drifting snow hid him from my view and I *saw him no more.* I cannot describe what my feelings then were — what must they have been in a few seconds afterwards when I found myself at the bottom of a ravine more than 20 f^{t} deep from which I had to use the greatest exertion to save myself from being suffocated by the snow which was drifting down upon me. Upon gaining the edge of the ravine (which I effected with the greatest difficulty having my snow shoes still on, as my hands were too cold to untie the strings of them which were frozen) I found the poor faithful dogs with their traineau buried in a snow bank.

Having dug them out my next effort was to gain the wood which I knew was on the opposite side of the ravine about 20 yd^{s} over yet I could not distinguish a tree so close & thick was the snow drifting. An hours exertion with the dogs & traineau through the deep snow in the ravine brought me into the edge of the wood which I found was composed of only a few scattered trees which would afford but a miserable shelter. I tried to make a fire — my matches were all wet — my hands were too cold to strik[e] a spark with the flint & steel. What can be done — "I must not perish" said I to myself I then thought of my companions — alas! poor fellows there can be no hope for you as I have all the blankets Buffalo robes, provisions &c (The dogs having followed me in the storm)

Having dug a hole in *a snow bank* I made a sort of shelter with my cloak and a blanket — and rolled myself in a blanket and a large buffalo robe I was then completely wet through for a shower of sleet had accompanied the storm. in a few moments it began to freeze. I was then so cold that I feared much that I should perish during the night. The night came, the storm continued unabated my situation was truly miserable Com-

panions & guide in all probillity perished — Myself in great danger of freezing also — and in a strange Country some hundred miles from any settlement or trading post

I cannot say what I felt although my usual feelings would raise to my relief frequently, and I would say to myself — "What is passed cant be helped" ["]better luck next time" ["]take it cooly" which I was evidently doing with a veangence

The greater part of the night was past listening to the roaring of the storm and the dismal howling of the wolves, together with the *pleasant* occupation of rubbing my feet to keep them from freezing.

18 March (Saturday) Never was light more welcome to a mortal. At dawn I crept from my hole and soon after heard cries. Fired two shots. soon after guide came up. he had escaped by making a fire and being a native and a *half blood* his knowledge of the Country and its dangers, saved him. Mr P was found with both legs and feet frozen. all search for Mr H proved ineffectual.

Remained all day near the scene of our disaster in the hope that some trace of Mr H. might be found.

19 March (Sunday) Started early with poor P on the dog traineau having left all our luggage behind. at 2 p.m found dogs unable to proceed with P. and him suffering too much to bear the pain occasioned by moving about. With the help of guide made a hut to leave Mr P in where he will remain for 5 or 6 days until I can send horses for him from Lake Travers 60 miles from this. Left with P all our blankets and robes except a blanket each (guide & myself) also plenty of wood cut and ice near his lodge to make water of. Out of Provisions obliged to kill one of our dogs.

Dogs meat excellent eating.

20 March (Monday) Morning stormy — accompanied with snow unable to leave camp till 2 p.m when guide & myself started Came a long distance and encamped in the "Bois de Sioux" [72] Feel very weak and unwell.

21 March. Left the "Bois de Sioux" at sun raise and ar-

[72] Ordinarily this term is used to designate the river flowing from Lake Traverse to the Red River, but McLeod, like Keating in his *Narrative*, 2: 13, applies the name to the timber fringing the stream.

rived at dark at the trading house at lake Travers having travelled 45 miles to day — with a severe pain in my right side and knee

22d March (Wednesday) at trading house — feel unwell.

23d March (Thursday) Sent the guide with another person and 2 horses and a cart for Mr P. and my *Trunk &c.* with instructions to the men to search for the body of Mr H in order that it may be decently interred at the trading house

1st April (Saturday) For the past 9 days have remained at the trading house where I am well treated by Mr Brown the gentleman in charge for *the American Fur Co* [73]

Saw the game of la cross played very frequently both by the squaws and Indians. it is a very interesting game when well contested and the female players are most astonishingly expert.

2d April 1837. (Sunday.) This morning the two men returned. poor Parys is no more. They found him in his hut dead. He had taken off the greater part of his clothes, no doubt, in the delirium of a fever caused by the excruciating pain of his frozen feet.

In the hut was found nearly all the wood we left him, his food, and a kettle of water partially frozen. Every thing indicated that he died the 2d or 3d day after our departure from him.

No trace of the body of Mr H was found. The poor fellow has long ere this become food for the savage animals that prowl these boundless wilds.

Thus has miserably perished a young and amiable man at the age of 20 in the full vigor of youth — *full of high hopes & expectations* [74]

[73] Joseph R. Brown, one of the best-known fur-traders in Minnesota, was in charge of the American Fur Company's post on the east shore of Lake Traverse near its southern end. This was the chief post of the Columbia Fur Company before its absorption by the American Fur Company in 1827. A picture of the fort as it looked in 1824 forms the frontispiece for the second volume of Keating's *Narrative*.

[74] In a communication from McLeod to Henry H. Sibley, dated May 14, 1850, and printed in the *Saint Paul Pioneer Press* for February 18, 1894, a further account of this trip from the Red River settlement is given. In the main it adds little to the diary, being based thereon, but it does give the intended destination of Parys and Hayes. McLeod says that they were

3d April (Monday) This day poor P. was consigned to his last abode — the silent & solitary tomb. It is a source of consolation to me amid my troubles, that I have been enabled to perform this last duty to a friend with all due respect. Would that I could say the same of Mr Hayes. I have however left directions with all the Indians near this post to search for his bones and inter them. They are about to depart on their spring hunts and will in all probabillity find his remains. *I can do no more*

5 Apl. (Wednesday) Left Lac Travers at 10 o'clock

Came 20 miles through a hilly prarie.

Encamped at 3 p'm

6 Apl (Thursday) Came 40 miles today. Encamped at Pomme de Terre river.

7 April 1837. (Friday) Cold & stormy, had some difficulty in getting across Pomme de Terre river. Made the horses swim, got our baggage and the cart across on some pieces of jammed ice. Arrived at lac qui parle at 2 p.m. Well received by Mr Reinville who has a trading post for the Indians here [75]

8 April (Saturday) As the weather appeared unsettled prevailed on by Mr R to remain with him till monday.

Today visited a Mr Williamson a missionary sent into this country two years ago by the American board of Foreign Mis-

bound for England. This version differs from that of Dickson for the latter wrote that Hayes wished to enter the Texan army. *Mississippi Valley Historical Review,* 10: 180, 181.

[75] Joseph Renville — variously spelled Reinville, Rainville, et cetera — was one of the most picturesque characters in Minnesota history. He was born near the site of St. Paul about the year 1779. His father was a French-Canadian trader and his mother a native woman. He was educated in Canada and then returned to his people. In the War of 1812 he aided Colonel Robert Dickson in his operations against the Americans. He was one of the founders of the Columbia Fur Company and when that company was absorbed by the American Fur Company Renville established himself at Lac qui Parle, where he remained till his death in 1846. He was interpreter for Pike in 1805 and 1806 and for Long in 1823. A letter from Alexander G. Huggins written from the mission house at Lac qui Parle on January 18, 1838, describes Renville's services in translating the Bible into Sioux: "Dr. W[illiamson] reads a verse in the french then Mr R. speaks it in Sioux and the Dr. Mr Riggs & Mr Pond all write it down then the Dr reads another verse."

sions, for the conversion of the Dacota Indians of this place Mr W's family resides with him. he has also two assistants*

*[*Note.*] A young lady, his wife's sister — and a young *man* — who attempted to *convert* me [76]

in his arduous undertaking. Mr W. can now speak a good deal of the Dacota language and I believe has made some translations from the bible.

9th April Sunday Went to hear Mr W preach — he also read a chapter from the Testament in Dacota and a young man present, another in french. A number of the psalms of David were sung in Dacota by half breeds and Indians. The audience consisted of half breeds, Indians, Canadians, and a few Whites.

10 April (Monday) Left Lac qui parle at 9 o'clock Came 30 miles. Encamped at 5 p'm at river L'eau de vie [77]

11 April (Tuesday) Came 35 miles, Encamped at 6 p.m near the St Peters river. Crossed today, Castor & Petite roche rivers. [78] Saw a great number of flocks of wild geese and swans.

12 April (Wednesday) Came 30 miles Encamped at 6 p.m. in a small grove of oaks.

13 April 1837. (Thursday) Came 30 miles. Arrived at 3 p.m at the Monté de Sioux at the trading house of Mr Provencalle. [79]

[76] Miss Sarah Poage, later the wife of Gideon H. Pond, accompanied Dr. Thomas Smith Williamson and his wife to his mission post at Lac qui Parle in 1835. The young man who attempted to convert McLeod was Pond. For further remarks about this attempt, see McLeod's entry for April 22, 1837, and *post,* n. 83.

[77] Hawk Creek, which joins the Minnesota River almost opposite the mouth of the Yellow Medicine River, was called *Chataba,* "that hatches sparrow-hawks," by the Indians, and *L'eau de vie* by the *voyageurs.* Another French name for the same stream was *Epervier,* meaning "sparrow-hawk." Keating, *Narrative,* 1: 355, 356.

[78] "Little Rock River" is a direct translation of the French designation, *Petite Roche.* "Beaver Creek" is a translation from the French word, *Castor.*

[79] Louis Provençalle kept a trading post at Traverse des Sioux for many years. Among the Taliaferro Papers are lists of Indian goods and traders for 1825, which show that he was there in that year. "Monté de Sioux" is a variation of the place name. It is used in the headings of some of Louis Provençalle's letters. Sibley Papers, August 10, 1840.

14 Apl. (Friday) Embarked at sun raise in a Canoe with Indians & squaws who are going down to where the S^t^ Peters joins the Mississippi at Fort Snelling.

Have for company 10 Indians and squaws in three Canoes. These people have in one of their Canoes the bodies of two of their deceased relatives which they intend carraying to a lake near the Missisippi more than 100 miles from this

In many instances these people bring the bodies of their friends much farther when it is the wish of the dying person to be deposited in a particular place.

At 3 p.m obliged to encamp in consequence of rain coming on — here I found the benifit of a good skin lodge which was put up by the females in a short time, and we all got under it round a snug fire cooked our victuals, and felt exceedingly comfortable.

15^th^ Apl. (Saturday) Morning rainy, did not leave encampment till 11 o'clock. 3 p.m passed petite rapid, and arrived at the trading house of M^r^ Ferribow where we stopped a few moments. [80]

16^th^ Apl (Sunday) 3. p.m. at long last have arrived at Fort Snelling S^t^ Peters, having escaped a variety of dangers, and endured great fatigue and privations in the Sioux Country.

[3^d^ May Today the guide P Buottineau who came from the Colony of Red river, with me, left this place to return. gave him my letters dated 20 Apl. for M^r^ Christie & M^r^ Logan] [81]

*Mem^o^*

To day (20 Apl. 37) wrote to Alex^r^ Christie Esq^r^ Hon. Hudson's Bay C^o^ giving him the particulars of my unfortunate and melancholy journey from Red River Wrote also, to M^r^

[80] Jean Baptiste Faribault's trading post was at the Little Rapids of the Minnesota River. Like so many of the early traders, he was born in Canada. As early as 1796 he was in the fur-trade business in the Northwest, and about 1806 he settled at Mendota. He was a man of much influence among Indians and half-breeds, to whom he endeavored to teach the rudiments of agriculture. Faribault County is named in his honor. William W. Folwell, *A History of Minnesota,* 1:437–445 (St. Paul, 1921).

[81] The passage enclosed in brackets is crossed out in the original.

Logan & Mr Millian of Red River. (3d May sent them by P Bortineau the guide) [82]

22d Apl, Wrote to J[oseph] R. B[rown] Lake Travers — requesting him to inform me of the result of the Indians search for the remains of my unfortunate friend Mr Hayes.

Wrote to Mr Reinville Lac qui Parle

Wrote to a Mr G[ideon] H. P[on]d a missionary assistant at "Lac qui Parle["] in reply to a curious letter from him placed in my hands on the day of my departure from that place.

This letter alluded to the death of my companions, in the prarie, and in the hypocritical cant of the day the writer calls upon me to remember *God's mercies* &c. &c. &c. [83]

1837. I am the most unfortunate of beings. For the past months nothing but accident has attended my steps. Yesterday (4 May) while out shooting with a friend (Lieut. McClure U.S.A) my gun accidently went off, and lodged the contents (a charge of buck shot,) in the right shoulder of poor McClure, who immediatly fell. [84] I was not more than 3 yards from him at the time and thought that he was shot dead. The agony of that moment I cannot describe. an instant afterwards I took him up in my arms, and my eye caught the wounded shoulder — when I was rejoiced to find that it did not appear dangerous. We had to walk nearly 3 miles to reach the fort. The wound

[82] The reply of Alexander Christie, chief factor of the Hudson's Bay Company at the Red River settlement, is among the McLeod Papers under date of October 16, 1837. For another reference to Millian, see *ante*, p. 400.

[83] McLeod Papers, April 10, 1837. As McLeod states, the letter calls on him to see an evidence of God's mercies in his fortunate escape from recent dangers. Evidently McLeod felt that the death of two friends and his own privations were not exactly to be termed "mercies," for he has indorsed the letter on the back, "Kept as a curiosity."

[84] Lieutenant James McClure was graduated from West Point in 1833 and came to Fort Snelling shortly thereafter. According to his half-breed daughter, Nancy, he loaned money to McLeod. As McClure was transferred to a post in Florida in the fall of 1837 and died the following spring, McLeod paid his debt by giving clothing and contributing in other ways to the support of the little Nancy. "The Story of Nancy McClure," in *Minnesota Historical Collections*, 6: 439, 441.

upon examination, did not appear bad the greater part of the shot having passed over the shoulder, only grazing it.

The Dr says there is no danger of the arm which is great consolation to me though the innocent cause of the poor young gentleman's sufferings.

Saint Peters May 29. /37 Saw Frenier a half breed Sioux from Lake Travers who informed me that the band of Indians who hunted this spring, not far from the scene of our disaster on the 17 March, had been unsuccessful in their search for the remains of Mr Hayes.[85] There cannot now be any hope of his remains being ever heard of — at least by me as I shall leave this place in a few days hence.

Saint Peters June 17. Returned from Saint Louis Mo this day having performed the journey from this place to Saint Louis and back again 1800 miles in fifteen days including two days that I remained at St Louis one day at Galena and one day at prarie du Chien.

On both sides of the Mississippi from prarie du Chien downward to Saint Louis are villages almost innumerable — dignified by the speculators who first planned and laid them out by the high sounding titles of Cities and Towns. In no part of the world is less taste shown in naming their Towns than in the valley of Mississipi. For instance between this and St Louis, we have a "Tully" — a "Hannibal" — a "Carthage" a post "Byron" a "Marion City" and a hundred other far fetched names very inappropriate to the localities of the "Cities" of the West.

Then, among the host of St Boats that I saw there was a "Monarch" a "Sultan["] a "Sultana" — names not at all in character with Republican feelings — besides a Rienzi a Rolla. These will do. I cannot but remark that Bulwer's Rienzi has just appeared in the west and for lack of names they took Rienzi. doubtless the next boat built by the same man will be called The "Tribune". But "What's in a name"

[85]Antoine D. Frenier, or Frenière, or Fresniere, is perhaps the half-breed to whom reference is made. See Stephen R. Riggs in *Minnesota Historical Collections*, 3:41 n. Many half-breeds of the name of Frenier lived in the Minnesota River and Lake Traverse regions, however, and one cannot be sure which member of the family is meant in this case.

Wrote at S[t] Louis to J[ames] D[ickson] and W[illiam] N[ewhouse] June 9[th] [86]

Wrote to W C[am] in Aug[t].

10[th] Oct. Rec[d] a letter from W[m] Newhouse W[m] Cam & Tho[s] Magrane of Montreal, and one from J M[c]L[eod] of l'orignal [87]

30 Sept wrote to J Walton — 10 Oct to W[m] Newhouse T Magrane & J M[c]L[eod].

July 1 Mon 1838. Went to Saint Louis 2[d] trip and returned in company with B[enjamin] F. B[aker] valeir [*?*] [88]

Mem. Went to Saint Louis in Winter of 1839. Left S[t] Peters 3[d] Jan[y]. Return'd in April following.

[86] This appears to be McLeod's last reference to Dickson. Since the publication of the writer's article on Dickson in the *Mississippi Valley Historical Review* more light has been shed on Dickson and his fate by the discovery of the Ely Diaries and Papers. For Ely's contemporary record of a talk with the "general" at Fond du Lac, see *ante*, n. 39. Years later Ely wrote to Edward D. Neill from Santa Rosa, California, giving the entry in his diary which relates to the expedition and adding:

Our conversation brought out the following points — that Dixon (and also the Pole) had been engaged in the Texan Army . . . That the idea of being called to fill some important position in the Affairs of the World, had possessed him — that the star of fate was guiding him (unauthorized by U.S.) in this bold stroke (a purely fillibustering Expedition.). He proceeded to Montreal, where he recruited his small force of young men who would constitute the officers in the army he expected to raise. With a very meagre supply of arms, and small resources, they started for the Red River Colony, calculating to recruit (a force of) Half Breeds — hunt their way across the buffalo plains — & thus (suddenly) and from an unexpected direction, to fall on the doomed city (whh I concluded to be Santa Fee), and from its pillage, to find himself abundantly supplied with gold for future wants. . . . I afterwards learned through M[r] Aitkins . . . That Dixon wandered off among the Indian tribes.

No date is to be found on this draft of the letter, which is among the Ely Papers, but a reference to July 1, 1873, places it later than that time. Mr. William Bottineau says that his father spoke of Dickson as an Englishman.

[87] J. McLeod probably was Martin's father.

[88] Shortly after his arrival at Fort Snelling, McLeod entered the employ of Benjamin F. Baker, a prominent fur-trader. A license to trade at Traverse des Sioux was granted on October 5, 1842, to Joseph Montrieul, who was authorized to take Martin McLeod and Baptiste Yea with him. The letter of the law granting licenses only to American citizens was thus adhered to. Sibley Papers.

M[ary] E. O[rtley] 3d Decr 1838. [89]
———left 3d Jany. 1839.
. retd in April /39 remd till 1st July — retd in Oct. — till — 22d July Say /15 July /*1840*

Went to Saint Louis (4th trip) on the 22d July. Returnd to St P. 2d Sept. *1840.*

15 July!! Went to Lake Superior in July 1839. Remain'd at La Pointe all the summer & Autumn. Returnd in Oct about the 12th

"B[enjamin] F. B[aker]" died at St Louis on the 2d Nov. *1839.* of *Consumption*

A[ngus] M. A[nderson] died at the same place very suddenly after a short illness in June 1840. [90]

Nov. 1840. "Began at Traverse de Sioux St Peters river"

There is no life more dull & monotonous than that pass'd by the 'Indian traders' during the winter season. Altho' I have now been since June 1837 connected one way or other with the fur trade in this Country — I have not yet passed *a winter;* at what is call'd the wintering gound or *winter post.* This is my first trial of that kind, & I have taken into my head to keep a daily journal of "events" (save the mark!) as a Memento for future observation.

Nov. 1840. Started from St Peters in a Birch Canoe with three men on the 24th Oct. last — distance from this place by water 150 miles — 10 days getting here — had much difficulty — The season being far advanc'd — Weather cold for the first four days. Afterwards very fine — part of the Indian Summer — Water very low.

Reached this place on the 2d Nov. from that time until the 15th busy getting up our winter Cabin &c. Weather unusually mild & delightful.

Took possession of our Cabin on the 13th Quarters comfortable enough, much more so than is usual in such cases.

So here I am "situated" on the S.E. bank of the St Peters in a Cabin 15 by 20 with one man; an Interpreter & his squaw b——h of a wife & 2 d——d noisy, rude children — besides the

[89] See *post,* p. 432, n. 3.
[90] Anderson was a well-known fur-trader of the time.

annoyance of "hosts" of the Salvages (as Dufold Dalgetty says) and so I must remain until the last of April — a pleasant *prospect* God wot; n'importe, I have a few books, a dog & a gun. — some patience — and *so, and so* I suppose I must be resign'd.

Nov. 20. Byron is my favourite of all the English poets. Altho I have read them all — that is all of the "immortals" there is not one, not even Shakespeare to whom I can recur, over, & over again so frequently as Byron.

I have been reading his letters &c for the past few days & who can read them without regretting that he did not leave some prose work worthy of his fame.

Read "Parasina" The ["]Giaour" The "Corsair" The 'Bride of Abydos' for the one hundreth *time* at least.

To day 20 Nov. first snow fell. Weather mild — but every appearance of plenty of snow and winter — fast approaching.

"There was a severe storm (with snow) early in Oct. last when I was up the S^{t} Croix river 200 miles N. E. from this.

Nov. 21. In house all day. Snowing. Read the book of Esther, and looked into Lockharts' Life of "Walter Scott["] a most excellent and delightful work. Read it when it first came out, but find it *new again.*

Four days ago rec^{d} Newspapers from my friend F[ranklin] S[teele] and a letter.[91] All very welcome.

Sunday 22^{d} Remained in house all day. Read Byron, and a few chapters in the Bible. There is no book that I have read so often as I did the Bible in my early days but for the past six or seven years have scarsely opened the *Book* and with shame I confess that at this present time I have neither bible nor Testament of my own, but as there is one belonging to my man in the house I feel that it will give me great pleasure to read it frequently, as besides the early associations it brings to my recollection — the historical part is highly instructive and interesting.

[91] Franklin Steele, a prominent Minnesota pioneer who became sutler at Fort Snelling in 1838, was also much interested in the development of water power at the Falls of St. Anthony. Steele County, Minnesota, is named for him. For a brief biographical sketch of Steele, see Daniel Stanchfield, "History of Pioneer Lumbering on the Upper Mississippi and Its Tributaries" in *Minnesota Historical Collections,* 9: 354–356.

Monday 23d Reading Lockharts life of Sir Walter Scott. Strolled in the woods. Saw two Indians in the evening one of whom gave us some Venison.

Tuesday 24th Intended to visit old Le. B[lanc] who is unwell,[92] but feel some what so myself. Want of exercise for the past week. Sedentary habits would soon kill me. Must fast, 'Tis a "sovereign remedy" in my case. Read 1st Vol. of the — "Monastery".

Wednesday 25th Weather dull and cloudy appearance of snow. Reading concluded 2d vol *Monastery*

Thursday 26. Weather mild. *In Cabin* all *day*. Rd "Abbott"

Friday 27th Delightful day. Crossed the river to visit old Le B. Sat up until past 1 o.c. this morning (28th) reading the "Pilot."

Saturday 28th Concluded the "Pilot" — as a whole it is an interesting and stirring tale, but some of the characters are made to act very unnatural parts. Burroughcliffe and Manuel act exceedingly silly in more than one of the scenes.

Dillon is a luke warm sort of a rascal — and none of the other characters are more than common people of every day life (with exception of long Tom Coffin who is the only original) made to perform feats worthy of the "Arabian nights"

The Pilot is of course *Paul Jones* whose proper name was John Paul.

Sunday 29th Weather cold, in house all day. Read Bible, and looked into "Locke on the human understanding ["]

Monday 30th Exceedingly cold. Wind from the west Reading "Oliver Twist" for the 2d time.

Last night finished reading "The Gentleman in Black" alais the Devil a strange thing in 1 vol, — Who is the author

By the bye rather a *queer* work to read on a Sunday So some folks would say that I wot of, so it is — "There is but one step from the sublime to the ridiculous"

From grave to gay
From lively to severe

[92] This refers to Provençalle, who was known by the traders and Indians as Le Blanc. See *ante*, n. 79.

December 1840.

Tuesday 1st Hail December — with thy gloomy, severe and frosty looks. This day 4 years ago, and precisely such weather, I was en route to red lake where I arrived early in the day fatigued and hungry enough — how time flies. "Tempus fugit" a School boy's phrase — Alas! too soon forgot by us all. "*Redde*" Byron's letters.

Wednesday 2d

Thursday 3. *Read Lalla Rookh*

Friday 4. Weather cold and gloomy. Feel so myself. Read, "Marino Faliero"

Saturday 5th

Sunday 6. Pleasant & mild.

Monday 7. Went to an Indian encampment of 7 lodges near Prairie la flech 8 miles distant and retd at 3 p.m [93]

Weather mild. Snowing in the evening.

8th Tuesday

Wednesday 9. Went to Le B[lanc]'s Read — Byron viz Deform'd Transform'd & Werner.

Thursday 10. Fine weather. Read Locke on the understanding

Friday — 11. Still pleasant and warm weather for the season — Unusually so.

Saturday 12th Read "Don Juan" News from St Peters last night Very fine day. Snow all melting away. last night went to Le B[lanc]'s.

Sunday 13 Went to Le B's with D[avid] F[aribault] [94]

Monday 14. Unwell. News from St P.'s

[93] Nicollet's map, accompanying his *Report* (serial 380), shows the Prairie la Flèche River, which appears to be the stream now known as Spring Creek in Le Sueur County. In an undated manuscript letter to the editor of a newspaper, presumably the *Minnesota Chronicle,* McLeod describes the prairie as follows: "Over an immense forest of many miles in extent the eye ranges and embraces with distinctness the distant outline of the beautiful Prairie Lafleche 30 miles in circumferance surrounded with timber." McLeod Papers.

[94] David Faribault, son of Jean Baptiste Faribault, was a fur-trader. He married Nancy McClure, half-breed daughter of the young officer whom McLeod shot accidentally at Fort Snelling. See *ante,* n. 84.

Tuesday 15th Read Childe Harold's Pilgrimage

Wednesday 16. Cold & blowing great change in the weather since yesterday.

Thursday 17. Very cold. Read Byron & took a *walk*.

Friday 18. *Cold. Cold* In search of a horse stolen by an Indian found him hid in some high grass 3 miles from house. Read " Curiousities of literature "

Sat 19 Went to Le B[lanc]'s x x x

Sunday 20. Read Bible &c x x

Monday 21. }
Tuesday 22. } x x x x x x x
Wednesday 23 }

Thursday 24. Sent J[oseph] B[ourcier] to St Peters this morning.[95] Went to Le B's

Friday 25. Christmas — and a dull one.

Saturday 26.

Sunday 27. Monday 28. Tuesday 29 Wednesday 30.

Nearly the whole month of Decr unusually mild and pleasant for this climate

January 1841	Remarks &c. &c.
1. Friday. Cold & Blowing	In house for the most part reading, the only past time I have at present.
2. Sat. Intensly cold.	
3. Sundy. Cold but pleasant	
4 Monday Mild & clear	
5. Tuesday. Pleasant	
6. Wednesday Pleasant.	Went to see Indian dance.
7. Thursday Mild & Cloudy.	In house reading &c &c.
8. Friday Cloudy with appr of snow	
9 Sat. Cloudy and warm	

10 Sundy. Mild. Started for Lac qui Parle on horse back, *at 11 a.m.*

[95] One cannot be certain to whom these initials refer, but as Joseph Bourcier is known to have been sent by Sibley from St. Peter's to Traverse des Sioux in June, 1840, in July, 1841, and again in October of the same year, it seems probable that McLeod employed him on return trips to St. Peter's. American Fur Company ledger for St. Peter's, 1840–43, vol. 2, p. 60, in Sibley Papers.

11 Monday. Severly cold. Reached La. F^rs [*Laframboise's*] at Petite Roche. half frozen.[96]

12 Tuesday. Cold increasing Remaned all day at La. F^s

13 Wednesday. Colder still. Lynx encampment, travelled 20 ms.

14 Thursday. Colder and colder Bottom Encamp^t.

15 Friday do do Rushes Encamp^t Snow storm

16 Saturday do do Encamp^t on a hill

17 Sunday *Cold. Cold. Cold.* 28° below zero. Reach^d Lac qui P.

We arrived at lac qui P. at 3 p m having travelled from day light in the open plains on horse back. D^r W[illiamson] of the mission inform'd us that it was the coldest weather they had exp^d for 6 yr^s and all the people were surprised at our escape, Between running and riding we managed to do so, and that was all.

January 1841	Remarks
18 Monday	At Lac qui Parle Took up our lodgings in an Indian lodge prepared for us by the Indians who have been expecting us for some time Very kindly rec^d by the people of the mission and M^r R[enville?]
19 Tuesday	
20 Wednesday	
21 Thursday	Indians, civil, but very troublesome with their *feasts* and dances. Asked to partake of their *feasts.* which is not always agreeable as *dog meat* is the *favourite dish.* Went to hear M^r R[iggs] preach in Sioux.[97] Indians very orderly indeed,
22 Friday.	
23 Saturday.	
24 Sunday.	

[96] Joseph Laframboise, who was located at Little Rock River at this time, was one of the large group of picturesque, well-educated, half-breed traders whose figures lend so much color to early Minnesota history. A vivid impression of his innate courtesy and polish can be obtained from the account of the few days spent at his cabin at the base of the Coteau des Prairies in George Catlin's *Letters and Notes on the Manners, Customs, and Condition of the North American Indians,* 2: 176 (London, 1842).

[97] A sketch of the life of Stephen R. Riggs, a missionary to the Sioux, is given in Folwell, *Minnesota,* 1: 200.

25 Monday Blowing from S.W. but not cold, started and encamped at Chippaw[a] river

26 Tuesday. Pleasant. Crossed a plain of 30 miles & encamp[t] at eau de vie.

27. Wednesday. No snow on the pla[i]ns obliged to take the S[t] P[eter's] river near Rushes Encampt[d].

28. Thursday. Travelling on the S[t] P. river Encamp[d] near Bottom encamp[t]

29. Friday do do " near Lynx Encamt.

30 Saturday Reached Laframboise's at Petite roche. Pleasant day.

31 Sunday. Started at P. R early on h[orse] b[ack] and reached T[raverse] de[s] S[ioux] *50 miles*

On our journey to lac qui P[arle] we suffered severly — all the party 9 persons were more or less frozen. D[avid] F[aribault] and myself were obliged to dismount from our horses every mile or two to run and thereby keep up a circulation, and although we had Buffalo robes wrapped round us still we could not keep our bodies warm. As for *my* hands it was with great exertion I saved them. On our faces we had *Buffalo robe masks,* and yet got our noses ears and cheeks frozen.

Alman[ac] Feby. 1841

1 Mond[y]. *Very unwell — mild*

2 Tuesday. Pleasant weather

3 Wed[y]. do do

4 Thursd[y]. do D[uncan] C[ampbell] w[en][t] to S[t] P[eter'][s] [98]

5 Friday Cold. *moon eclipsed*

6 Saturd[y] Clear and cold.

7 Sunday very cold. *wind S.W.*

8 Mondy. Started for S[t] P[eter's] *on h[orse] b[ack]* } *80 mis*

9 Tuesday Reach[d] S[t] P[s] at 3 p.m }

[98] Duncan Campbell, brother of Scott Campbell, United States interpreter at St. Peter's for many years, came to what is now Minnesota in 1834 as one of Henry H. Sibley's assistants. Later he worked under McLeod for several years.

10 Wedy. at S[t] P[s] *very cold*
11 Thurdy Left S[t] P. at 11. a.m
12 Friday very cold. Encamped at *Batture aux F[ièvres]* [99]
13 Saturday reach[d] T[raverse] de[s] S[ioux] at 4 p.m.
14 Sunday Snowing and blowing.
15 Mondy In house. *cold*
16 Tuesday Fine weather
17. Wed[y]. Warm and pleasant
18 Thursday D[uncan] C[ampbell] *ret[d]*
19. Fridy
20. Sat.
21. Sundy.
22 Mond[y].
23 Tuesday.
warm weather Snow all gone & looks like spring Delightful weather *Some Ducks Killed.*
24 Wednesd[y]. *Change, cold*
25 Thursday. Blowing from S.W.
26 Friday Cold
27 Saturday Snow in the night
28 Sund[y]. Snow'd during the night

To the kindness of my friend Mon[s] J[oseph] L[aframboise] I am indebted for the complete history of England in 9 vols. which is quite a feast in this dull spot and will enable me to pass the rest of my time here until 1[st] May pleasantly and rationally.

[February has been for the most a very pleasant month][1]

March 1841.

Mondy. 1. Blowing from S.W but not cold.
Tuesday 2. Clear and pleasant
Wednesday 3. Warm and delightful
Thursday 4. Mild & pleasant
Friday 5. do do
Saturday 6. Cloudy & warm
Sunday 7. Very warm & pleasant.

[99] This stream is shown entering the Minnesota River from the south just above the Little Rapids on the map which accompanies Nicollet's *Report* (serial 380). Keating, in his *Narrative*, 1:334, says it was called Fever Sandbar by the white men. Its present name is Sand Creek.

[1] This sentence has been crossed out in the original.

Monday 8. Fine —
Tuesday 9. Very pleasant & warm
Wednesday 10. Cloudy. but *mild*
Thursday 11. D[uncan] C[ampbell] left warm
Friday 12. Very warm
Satd^{y} 13. Cloud^{y}
Sundy 14. do do (Snowed)
Mond^{y} 15. Fine. Snow all gone J[oseph] B[ourcier][2] to J[*?*] L[aframboise *?*]
Tuesday 16. Pleasant
Wedn^{y}. 17, Wind from *H. on fire* Ducks & Geese
Thursday 18. Wind very strong
Friday 19. Wind from West
Sat. 20. Wind W. slightly *cold*
Sund^{y}. 21. Slight Rain
Mond^{y}. 22. Cold & Blowing
Tuesday 23. Fine & pleasant
Wednesd^{y} 24. Warm & pleasant
Thursd^{y} 25. Cloudy.
Friday 26. Clear & warm
Saty. 27. Cloudy.
Sund^{y}. 28 Raining
Mon^{dy}. 29. Cold — 8 inches snow
Tuesd^{y} 30. Fine & warm
Wednesd^{y}. 31. Slightly cold but pleasant.

With exception of the last 5 days, March has been the most delightful weather I have seen at this season for the past 4 years.

During the whole month until the 28th there was no snow to be seen. At present there is five inches on the ground, but it will not remain for 2 days

April 1841.

Thursday. 1. Pleasant
Friday 2. Pleasant & warm
Sat^{dy} 3. Blowing strongly from S. D[uncan] C[ampbell] left

[2] See *ante*, n. 95.

Sund^{y}. 4. Fine & warm
Mond^{y} 5. Cold & blowing
Tuesd^{y} 6. Snowed about 3 inches
Wednes^{dy}. 7. Clear & pleasant
Thursd^{y} 8. Cloudy.
Frid^{y}. 9. Cloudy but warm
Saty. 10 do do
Sund^{y}. 11. Snowing slightly. *D[uncan] C[ampbell] left*
Mond^{y} 12. Cloud^{y} but mild. D[avid] F[aribault] left.
Tuesd^{y}. 13. Cold & unpleasant (Canoe *arrived*
Wedn^{sdy}. 14. Clear & warm *2*
Thursd^{y} 15. Pleasant PP
Friday 16. Cloudy (Millions of pidgeons)
Saturday 17. Very warm 3
Sunday 18. Warm & pleasant
Monday 19. do do
Tuesday 20. " "
Wednesday 21. " "
Thurd^{y}. 22. " "
Friday 23. Cloudy & unpleasant
Saturd^{y} 24. Cold — blowing from North
Sunday 25. Raining & disagreeable
Monday 26. Cold. Snowed 1/2 in in the *night*
Tuesday 27. " *D[avid] F[aribault] left.*
Wednesday 28. Cloudy. Rained in the night
Thursday 29. Drizzling snow & rain
Friday 30. Very warm & pleasant

The first few days of Apl very pleasant but after the 4th until 13th very *disagreeable cold. Changeable, blowing snowing* &c.

From the 15th weather warm & pleasant. but a few days of slight rain & water unusually low in the S^{t} P[eter's] river.

Last days of April changeable Cold & very disagreeable.

Sic transit &c

May 1841.

Saturday 1. *Clear but cold, blowing f^{m} North*
Sunday. 2. *Wind cold,* but clear & pleasant
Mond^{y}. 3. *Cloudy.* app^{r} of rain

Tuesday 4. *Slight rain in morning Rained all day*
Wednesday 5. *Cloudy* & unpleasant
Thursday 6. *Clear* & *warm*
Friday 7. *Warm D[uncan] C[ampbell] 27*
Saturday 8. *Warm & pleasant 28*
Sunday 9. *Very warm* Rain & Thunder *in the evening*
Monday 10. *Windy* & unpleasant *30*
Tuesday 11. Warm D. C. ret[d]
Wednesday 12. do at T[raverse] d[es] S[ioux]
Thursday 13. do left
Friday 14. En route
Saturday 15. *at S[t] Peters*
Sunday 16.
Monday 17.
Tuesday 18.

[*Memoranda found on several pages at the back of the diary*]

Natus[3]

Walter Scott M[c]Leod born at S[t] Peters Iowa Friday 16. April 1841. at 10. a.m.

Baptised Sunday 16[th] May following by the Rev[d] M[r] Gaultier Roman Catholic Priest

[3] McLeod does not refer specifically to his wife at any place in his diary. In view of references in other places, mentioned hereafter in this note, it seems a safe guess that the initials, M. E. O., under date of December 3, 1838 (see *ante*, p. 422), refer to his wife. Possibly the date is that of his marriage. A search through manuscript baptismal records, now in the Roman Catholic Cathedral residence, St. Paul, has brought to light the following data relating to his wife and two of his children:

M'Clode Felix Walter Scott

no. 52

L'an de N. S. 1841 et le 16 Mai, je soussigné prête desservant la paroisse S[t] Pierre certifie avoir baptisé félix Walter Scott fils de Martin M[c]Clode et de Marie Ouinona garçon agé d'un mois a été parrain L. Galtier et marraine Marguérite Quing en foi de ce j'ai signe.

L. Galtier P[tre]

Marie Elizabeth McLeod

[no.] 197

L'an de J. C. 1845 et le 10 Juillet je soussigné déclare avoir conféré le S[t] baptême selon le rite de l'eglise catholique à Marie Elizabeth Macleod

John G McL. Born at St Peters — 19th June 1843 — died 30 July following

Mary E. McL. born at 10 o'c in the morning Monday 15 July 1844, at B[ig] S[tone] L[ake]

Baptisted [*sic*] by Revd Mr Ravaux.

Janet McL Born at Lac qui Parle Friday 14 Jany, 1848 at 6. A.M.

Isabella Born at Oak Grove Saturday 22 May 1851.

N[atus][4] 30 August 1813 — City of M[ontrea]l*

*[*Note*] Lochiel, Longuiel &c &c

L'Orignal Decr 1829 — left for

VK Hunkerbury [*?*].

Pt N. [*Portneuf*] year of 1832 & pt of 33.

Started for Ml March 1833.

Left Ml June 17. 1836

née le 19 Juin 1844 du mariage de Mr Macleod (commerçant parmi les Sioux) et, de Marie Aclet. parrain Mr J. Rubinet marra[i]ne Mme Louise Queen née Phenly

A Ravoux

For those who rely implicitly on family Bibles and baptismal records for biographical data, it is disconcerting to find Mary's birthday given as June 19 in the record of baptism and as July 15 in McLeod's diary. It is impossible to state who made the error, but, obviously, the birthdays of John and Mary, as to the day of the month, were confused in one of the entries.

In lists of beneficiaries under the treaty of Traverse des Sioux, 1851, appear the entries, "Mrs. Mary Ortley McLeod and four children, twelve hundred and fifty dollars"; "Geo. F. Ortley, (Lac-qui-parle,) two hundred and fifty dollars"; and "Martin McLeod, trustee for M. E. Ortley, children, and others." From this evidence it would seem more than likely that Mrs. McLeod was a half-breed daughter of George F. Ortley of Lac qui Parle, her husband's trading post for many years, and that her maiden name was Mary E. Ortley. Similarity in pronunciation may account for Father Ravoux's spelling in the baptismal record. McLeod's testimony in the same document gives considerable biographical data regarding himself and the manner in which he carried on trade with the Indians. "Report of the Commissioners Appointed . . . to Investigate the Official Conduct of Alexander H. Ramsey . . . with the Testimony taken in the Case," in 33 Congress, 1 session, *Senate Executive Documents,* no. 61, p. 11, 12, 18, 226–235 (serial 699).

[4] The entries now become autobiographical.

Year of 1836 & pt 37 en route for 11 ms in the Northwest.
Apl 16, 1837 reachd St Peters
went to St Louis in May & retd.
At St Peters 37 & 38. went to St Louis in Jany /38 & summer of 1839.
Winter of 1839 on St Croix
Jany Feby March & Apl 1838 travelling in Missouri, Illinois, Iowa & Wisconsin.
T[raverse] d[es] S[ioux] 1840–41, 42–43 — 3 winters [5]
The summers passed at St Peters.
July 1843 Started for B[ig] S[tone] L[ake]
Winter of 1843–4 at B. S. L and Summer of 1844.
1844–5 also at B. S. L. Summer of 1845 St Peters retd in Sept. 1845. [184]6 until June at B. S. L.
Winter of 1846–7 Commenced trading post at Lac qui Parle. Summer following in part at Mendota.
1847, 8, 9, 50 Lac qui P & Mendota. Sept and Oct 1849— 60 days at St Paul attending Legislature.
Winter 1849 & 50. Family at Oak Grove
1850, & 1851. Trading at Lac qui P.
Passed winter at St Paul myself — 30 days attending Legislature.
Summer of 1851, at Mendota, Oak Grove, Traverse des Sioux & Lac qui Parle.

10th Decr 1828. Went to W C[am] remd 2 yrs
1831, at L. O[riginal] with K P H
1832 at N, for J. N. M

From 1st March /33 to 17 July — (Montreal) left Montreal 17 July 1836
Natus 30 Augt 1813.
Left M[ontreal] 17 July 1836. Reached R[ed] R[iver] S[ettlement] 24 Decr 1836. Left R. R. S. 29 Feby. 1837.

[5] Six ledgers kept by Martin McLeod in his business as fur-trader have been preserved with his other papers. They cover the period 1840 to 1855 and are, in general, the accounts at the Traverse des Sioux, Lac qui Parle, and Big Stone Lake posts. In one of them are also included copies of a few personal letters by McLeod, bits of poetry, and articles written by him about the Indian country.

Reached St Peters 16 April 1837. B[enjamin] F. B[aker] from June 1837 until June 1839. 2 yrs In July 1839 went to Lake Superior. Retd in Oct. Winter of 1839 & 40 at Saint Croix. Summer following at Saint Louis and Saint Peters.

Winter of 1840–41, at T[raverse] de[s] Sioux Saint Peters river.

Memo July 1836.

		£
Bradbury		
Jos Boulanget	about	15.
Jno Orr	do	5
Thos Mussen	do	3.
Jos McKay (G) [?]	do	2.
Wright — (S)	do 1 or	2
L. Privat	do	1.5
P. Swords	do	1.5
Tait (Livery Stable)	about	1.5
Sharp do	do	.10
		£31.5
W. C[am]who has in charge		
a Deed of Property		10
Armour & Ramsay		3.10
J. P. Ashton *Estate*		4.10
J Walton		4.
		53.5

Please pay to the order of Martin McLeod Seventy three dollars for value recd & charge the amt to my a/c

Traverse des Sioux May 1841

[D. Farribault] [6]

Dft on Col. McComb	$100	*Texas* [7]
do on St Louis	140	
	240	

These dr[a]fts, were not paid

[6] This name is crossed out in the original.

[7] The text of this draft, which is signed by Dickson and addressed "To Col. Macomb Texian Army," is published in *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, 10: 181.

5 Shirts
3 prs Stockings
2 pr Gloves
2 Hkfs
15 p[iece]s [8]

16 July
31 Au[t]
30 Sept
31 Oct
30 Nov
31
31
28
31
259
11
270

Spanish Grammar
Spanish Dictionary
Manly Exercises
Gazetteer
Dressing Case
Carpet Bag M[r] M[c]Laughlin

Left 29[th] July 1836 — at W[m] Smith's Esq[r] Waterloo, Bertie, U[pper] C[anada] a Trunk containing — Clothes $100 Private Papers — Memo[s] &c.

Left in charge of M[r] Faribanks Red lake 3[d] Dec[r] 1836 — a leather travelling Trunk Containing —

a s[u]p[er] Fine Frock Coat	2 p[r] Pants (Fine)
a Dbl Bbl Rifle	A Riding Belt
a p[r] Brass Pistols & Flask	2 books
2 Port Folios	a lot of Powder and shot
1 Dressing Case	Percussions
a quantity of linen	A gold Seal
Socks, Gloves &c	&c &c &c
2 Fine vests,	[illegible] value $120 [9]

[8] This list is crossed out in the original.
[9] The word "Received" is written across this list in the diary.

Spanish	English
Como se llamo este lugar?	How do they call this place?
este Ciudad	This City?
este Rio	This River?
esti Montãnos	These mountains?
Quantos liguas hay de aqui al aldia lo mais proximo?	How many leagues are there to the nearest village?
Una ligua, Una ligua y media dos liguas, Tres liguas, quatro liguas, Cinco liguas, Seis liguas Siete liguas, Ocho liguas, Nueve liguas, diez liguas.	One league, One league & a half Two leagues Three leagues, four leagues 5 leagues 6 leagues 7 leagues 8——9 —— 10 ——
Hay mucha gente alla?	Are there many inhabitants there?
Hay algunos Soldados alla?	Are there some Soldiers there?
Si Senor. Yes Sir, Quantos hay?	How many are there.
Hay maize alla?	Is there corn there?
Hay trigo? Hay polvere?	Is there wheat? Is there Powder?
Hay muchos blancos alla?	Are there many whites there?
Son todos Indios del pais?	Are they all Indians of the Country?
Que dicen la gente de nosotros?	What say the people of us?
A donde puidemos hallar caballos	Where can we find horses?
mulos	with mules, trigo, with wheat.
Maiz	with maize, Carne, with beef.
No Sè Senor. I do not know Sir.	Quien Sabe. God knows, or, who knows.
Vayas vos[*?*] con dios. God be with you. Amigo, Friend	Buena dias. Good day. Buenos Noches, Good night [10]

[10] This entire passage has been crossed out in the original. The character of the exercise tends to corroborate Dickson's statement that his purpose was to take Santa Fé. By so much it weakens the theory held by some officials of the Hudson's Bay Company that his object was to injure the Red River settlement. All the words and expressions would have a very practical use were McLeod to arrive in the environs of Santa

The *life of man.*

How vain our hopes, how futile our aspirations. What is the life of man! 'Tis but the shadow of an existence, yet in that shadow of a shade how much is comprised. How few there are who can look back to the bright days of their youth — the sunshine of life — and feel that their dreams of renown & splendor or the more virtuous desire of domestic happiness approach realization. All life is ideal, and our very existence is but a dream.

But a few brief years have passed since I entered the portals of manhood yet I have tasted frequently of the bitter fruit of this transient pilgrimage. I have been tossed, like a weed, upon the waves of doubt & uncertainty and have seen the friends of my youth wrecked on the shores of disappointment. I have seen promises — the most solemn — broken; friendships the warmest — buried in the cold grave of oblivion or forgetfulness and ties "dearer than these, than all" forever crushed, and have felt the misery that follows them, and yet I am, but upon, the verge of "life's beginning" Novr 11th 1836.

> Still must I on; for I am as a weed,
> Flung from the rock, on ocean's foam to sail
> Where'er the surge may sweep, the tempest's breath prevail.

How sweet is memory, and yet, how bitter are many of our recollections. How apt the above quotation to my present unsettled and uncertain career, yet, singular to say 'tis the remembrance of a happy moment, long since past, that brought this stanza, to my memory. The last time, (and perhaps, forever the last) that I read "Childe Harold" was sitting by the side of E——. These thoughts are childish, yet flow they must They are the only green spots in the desert of my existence.

25. Novr 1836.[11]

Fé. This may be the exercise which helped pass away the time when the party was wind-bound at Sandy River. See *ante*, p. 377.

[11] Like the preceding party, this was written just before McLeod left the comparative hominess of a trading post — on November 11 the Sandy Lake house and on November 25 the Lake Winnibagoshish — and his despondent mood in each instance may have been caused by the anticipation of impending loneliness. See *ante*, p. 385 and 386.

'Twas as a lovely dream of our young sleep,
Before our thoughts had wither'd and grown pale
A dream of star light and of waters deep,
And the far music of the Nightingale,

'Twas as a dream — whose fine and tremulous joys
Have being but in slumber, — which a breath,
A touch of rude reality destroys, —
For life too tender — too intense for death

Oh! who hath felt the moonlight of the mind,
Oh! who hath felt the silence of the soul;
When like the hushed wave in the moveless wind
Still in their depths, the tides of feeling roll

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

A Manual of Archive Administration Including the Problems of War Archives and Archive Making (Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, Division of Economics and History, *Economic and Social History of the World War, British Series*). By HILARY JENKINSON, M.A., F.S.A. (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1922. xviii, 243, 7 p.)

With the appearance of this book the English-speaking world ceases to have occasion to blush for its reputation whenever the topic of discussion is scientific treatises on archives. Yet late as is the appearance of an adequate work of this sort in the English language, Americans, like their English brethren, cannot but feel compensation in the knowledge that even the standard continental treatise has now been superseded in point of comprehensiveness by Mr. Jenkinson's scientific volume. Faced with a bulk of war archives which make housing, arrangement, and care impossible on the lines in use for older archives, the editors of the *British Series* of the *Economic and Social History of the World War* realized that this new archive problem must be solved if the most fruitful sources for a history of English participation in the war are to be made accessible to the economist and historian. Only a thorough knowledge of past archival problems and their solutions, however, could form the starting point for considering the new difficulties; so Mr. Jenkinson, very wisely, has devoted fully one-half of his book to a definition of archives and to a discussion of the duties of an archivist, the transmission of archives, and the most approved methods of housing, arranging, indexing, calendaring, and transcribing them. The most unqualified praise can be accorded the efficient manner in which this work has been done. No such confusion of terms as is to be found in the only American work of note on the subject can be detected in this volume. To give effect to his statements, Mr. Jenkinson gives examples from the great British depository of archives, the Public Record Office; and, incidentally, students of English history will find here a very succinct and

convenient outline of the development of legislative, judicial, and administrative departments in England, which is used to illustrate the methods by which certain archives to be found in one department began their existence with another.

Part 3 of the work is devoted to "Modern Archives"; part 4 to "Archive Making." The former considers the principles on which destruction may proceed. The conclusion is reached that no destruction may occur, except in word for word duplicates, once the documents have left the organization whose business files they have constituted. Thus, then, is part 3 linked with part 4, for archives of the present and of the past definitely partake of "archive quality" and so cannot be destroyed, however great the bulk; but documents that are now business files and that, in the course of time, will become archives, may be sorted and diminished in amount before reaching the hands of the archivist. An office conducted along scientific lines would naturally do this anyway if time and adequate labor could be had for the purpose; for the sole aim of keeping such a body of records is "that the Administrator, called upon to take up any piece of business, may not be dependent on his memory, but find a summary of all that has been done on this matter in his files." All documents not serving this end may be discarded. The point stressed, however, is that the office administration *alone* is capable of selecting those documents which no longer serve its purpose. When the documents have been turned over to the archivist, the period of selection is past.

Part 5 deals with "War Archives," toward which the entire discussion has been tending. These may, in a sense, be termed archives of the future, and, as such, reduced in bulk by their respective administrators. Some practical suggestions for accomplishing this result are given, like the destruction of duplicate letters and carbon copies where one copy will serve the purpose. As the first step in disposing of such an enormous bulk of material as these war records, a summary survey and listing of war organizations and their records should be made.

Many useful appendixes occupy the fifty pages preceding the index. Among them may be noted a specimen arrangement of archives; sketches of containers for documents; examples of

rules for an archive repairing department; a "Sketch for a Bibliography of Archive Science"; a conspectus of the divisions of administrations and archives, public and private, in England; and rules for transcribing.

When the United States government shall have come to the realization that it alone of all the great countries of the world has made no adequate provision for the centralization of its archives under scientific archival care and that private enterprise alone is responsible for practically all the printed or typed guides, inventories, calendars, and transcripts that have been made,— then, and then only, can we hope for a scientific treatise on archives, illustrated by American examples, similar to this most excellent British work.

Grace L. Nute

Reminiscences of Newcastle, Iowa, 1848; A History of the Founding of Webster City, Iowa. Narrated by Sarah Brewer-Bonebright; written by her daughter Harriet Bonebright-Closz. (Des Moines, Historical Department of Iowa, 1921. xvii, 307 p. Illustrations.)

It is somewhat unusual for a book of this character to be so well organized and so well written. The narrator is telling the story of her girlhood experiences, its hardships and pleasures, with an attention to detail which is the more remarkable because of the lapse of years. She states frankly that she makes "no claim for absolute accuracy in dates" and thereby disarms a kind of criticism which is frequently made against the writer of reminiscences.

The value of the book lies in its plain, straightforward account of the process of building a new home in the wilderness on the Iowa frontier, just what was being done in Minnesota during the same period. There was the log cabin to be built, food to be secured by rifle or by hook and line, furniture for the home to be provided, and a crop to be put in. One marvels at the amount of labor necessary on the part of every member of the household in order to sustain life, and especially the grinding toil of the women in their efforts to make a home. Life in a one-room partly-floored cabin with flies settling in such swarms upon

the food at the table that one person is kept busy with a "shooer," or blackening the rings of drying pumpkin at night; with clouds of mosquitoes making necessary the constant use of a smudge pot; and with other pests such as mice, vermin, and an occasional pole cat, is pictured for the reader in all its stern reality.

Chapter follows chapter in logical sequence from the account of the migration by oxcart from Indiana through the settlement in the new location, the platting of the town, and the offering of inducements to draw settlers to the community. The five appendixes contain a biographical sketch of Wilson Brewer, father of the narrator; recollections of Major Brassfield's account of the murder by Henry Lott of a part of Inkpaduta's band; and some poems by Mrs. Harriet Bonebright-Closz.

The book is illustrated profusely with drawings of pioneer implements and utensils, apparently sketched from the objects themselves, and thus of great interest to the student of pioneer conditions. The volume is well bound, printed on good paper, and supplied with a table of contents and list of illustrations.

WILLOUGHBY M. BABCOCK, JR.

City Charter Making in Minnesota (Bureau for Research in Government of the University of Minnesota, *Publications*, no. 1). By WILLIAM ANDERSON, PH.D., Associate Professor of Political Science and Director of the Bureau. With a foreword by CEPHAS D. ALLIN. (Minneapolis, University of Minnesota, 1922. ix, 198 p.)

The primary purpose of this book is to assemble in compact form "all the information which may be found necessary to the intelligent drafting, adoption, and amendment of home rule charters in Minnesota." The volume is reviewed in these pages because the author devotes an introductory chapter to an historical survey of the "Development of City Government in Minnesota." Not only does this account add to the value of the chapters which follow on the practical problems of present-day charter-making, but it makes a real contribution to Minnesota history. Attention is first directed to the growth of Minnesota cities from 1850 to 1920. The beginnings of local government

in Minnesota are then discussed. The incorporation in 1854 of St. Paul and Stillwater as cities is mentioned. "In 1855 the town of Henderson, the home of the industrious J. R. Brown, received the first town charter to be conferred on any community in Minnesota west of the Mississippi." The demand for town charters increased tremendously in the "boom" period before the panic of 1857. The land speculators who promoted the towns and cities, writes the author, "were interested primarily in enriching themselves from the development of sites for future cities." This business was almost ended by the panic. The problem of rural local government remained and as settlers poured in after 1854 it became serious. "By 1857," writes the author, "the counties had been much reduced in size and increased in number to meet the needs of these people for local government, but the counties were too large, after all, and their organization not adapted for purely local purposes. The people needed a township system, and it was such a system to which most of them, coming from New England, New York, and the Old Northwest, were accustomed." The upshot of the matter was the enactment in 1858 of the "first general laws for establishing a general system of town or township government." The law was "materially changed by the second legislature."

After dealing with these beginnings the author traces the development of city government down to 1921. Considerable attention is given to "the constitution and local government," "special legislation," the general incorporation law of 1870, the general village law of 1875, the home rule amendment of 1896 and 1898, and the home rule enabling acts. The author states that sixty-five out of ninety-two cities in the state have adopted home rule. The rest of the book deals with state control over cities and villages, present government of Minnesota villages and cities, procedure for making and amending home rule charters, and principles and problems of charter-making. Appendix 1 consists of a "model charter for Minnesota cities."

THEODORE C. BLEGEN

A History of St. Olaf Choir. By EUGENE E. SIMPSON. (Minneapolis, Augsburg Publishing House, 1921. 188 p. Illustrations.)

The St. Olaf Choir occupies a position in the musical field of the Northwest which can be compared only to that of the Minneapolis Symphony Orchestra; and its director, Dr. F. Melius Christiansen, has been accorded general recognition as one of the greatest choral conductors in America. The choir consists of students of St. Olaf College, one of the principal institutions of learning maintained by the Norwegian Lutheran Church of America. Some of them are students in the college's department of music but most of them are not. They all sing for the pure love of singing and are willing to subject themselves to that thorough training and rigid discipline without which choral singing of the highest order cannot be produced. The St. Olaf Choir has frequently been called a human symphony orchestra and its singing has been compared to that of the Vatican Choir.

The development which has brought about this organization is not a long but a very interesting story. It is all told in a very entertaining way in this volume by Mr. Simpson. Although the history in the main is that of the choir it also deals with two institutions which have fostered the choir, St. Olaf College and St. John's Lutheran Church of Northfield. The college was founded as St. Olaf School in 1874 by the Reverend Bernt J. Muus, a pioneer Norwegian clergyman. The school began instruction in two old public school buildings purchased from the city of Northfield. The school also served as a house of worship for the Norwegians of Northfield and vicinity.

No effort will be made in this review to trace the gradual development of the choir and the college. Suffice it to say that this development represents a no less remarkable cultural achievement than the great transformation of the University of Minnesota during the past half century. It is particularly interesting to note that this manifestation of fine musical culture has its original source in that hardy Norse race which has furnished so much of the brawn for the material development of the state.

The volume also contains the story of the life of the director of the choir, told in a most entertaining manner; has an en-

lightening chapter on "Northern Growth and Change in Lutheran Music"; gives an account of the "Genesis of the 1913 Norway Tour"; and tells about the eastern tour of 1920. It concludes with a chapter on "The Choir Training at Home."

This review may have given the impression that the choir and the college have stressed the more spectacular side of their musical efforts. I hasten to assure the reader that modesty is characteristic of the attitude assumed by the St. Olaf College leaders. I may support this assertion by the following quotation from a brief preface by Dr. L. W. Boe, the president of the college:

> St. Olaf College has for many years sought to cultivate the art of music. It has done so, not so much from an artistic standpoint as to find a beautiful and adequate means of expressing the spiritual life of the student body, whose ancestry, almost without exception, comes from the mountains and valleys of Norway. Added to this heritage are the life and experiences of pioneer days in this country, days that now are over.
>
> Thru the Choir especially, an attempt has also been made to bring out the wealth of hymnology and song of the Lutheran Church, discovering in this way to our day the common heritage given to us by ages past.

Carl G. O. Hansen

MINNESOTA HISTORICAL SOCIETY NOTES

The additions to the active membership during the six months ending September 30, 1922, numbered 151. The names of these new members, grouped by counties, are as follows:

ANOKA: Roe Chase and J. Clemens Erlander of Anoka.

BECKER: Reverend Anders K. Voss of Detroit.

BELTRAMI: Homer C. Baer of Bemidji.

BLUE EARTH: George J. Miller of Mankato.

BROWN: Jacob Liesenfeld of Comfrey and Louis A. Fritsche of New Ulm.

CARVER: Oswald Rosenwald of Norwood.

CROW WING: Joseph H. Davison and George D. La Bar of Brainerd, and Alfred J. Crone of Deerwood.

DAKOTA: Winslow M. Brackett of Farmington and William E. Scott of South St. Paul.

FARIBAULT: Oliver J. Clark and W. E. C. Ross of Blue Earth.

FILLMORE: George H. Haven of Chatfield.

FREEBORN: Jonas R. Nannestad of Albert Lea.

GOODHUE: Henry M. Halvorson of Wanamingo.

HENNEPIN: Mrs. John M. Tirrell of Excelsior; and Louis J. Ahlstrom, Jr., Mrs. Clarence W. Alvord, Carlos Avery, Edgar A. Barry, Dr. Arthur E. Benjamin, Eugene N. Best, Christian A. Bossen, Anna P. Brezler, Fred B. Chute, Alfred J. Dean, Mrs. Alfred J. Dean, Victor E. Elving, George H. Elwell, Mrs. Cassius M. Ferguson, Mrs. Ross A. Gamble, Michael J. Gill, Mrs. Rex W. Heald, Ulysses G. Herrick, Mrs. Gertrude B. Howe, Elizabeth Jackson, John Jager, Charles F. Keyes, Joseph R. Kingman, Mrs. Clarkson Lindley, Mrs. Charles M. Loring, Albert S. Macmillan, John W. Nixon, Willis I. Norton, Alvah M. Olin, Reverend Richard S. Read, James A. Ridgway, Dr. Carl M. Roan, David F. Simpson, Mrs. Edward A. Strong, Albert C. Swift, Louis A. Tohill, Ell Torrance, Silas H. Towler, Andreas Ueland, John R. Van Derlip, Thomas F. Wallace, Charles

M. Way, Mrs. William F. Webster, Alice E. Whitmore, Theodore Wirth, and Ary E. Zonne of Minneapolis.

HOUSTON: Francis A. Duxbury of Caledonia.

ITASCA: George B. Aiton of Grand Rapids.

JACKSON: Alton B. Cheadle of Jackson.

KANABEC: Peter S. Olson of Mora.

LAC QUI PARLE: Harry Gulbrandson of Boyd.

LE SUEUR: May W. Smith of Elysian.

LYON: M. J. Moorse of Minneota.

MCLEOD: Luther W. Gilbert and Lawrence W. Marshall of Glencoe, and Mrs. Harry White of Hutchinson.

MILLE LACS: Richard Hamer of Milaca and Harry D. Ayer of Onamia.

OLMSTED: Dr. William P. Finney and Dr. Edward S. Judd of Rochester.

OTTER TAIL: Daniel Flynn of Perham.

RAMSEY: John O. Christianson, Melvin J. Doherty, James M. Drew, Arthur B. Driscoll, Charles W. Eddy, Charles Ffolliott, Mrs. Theodore A. Foque, Mrs. Lillian C. Goodenow, Theophilus L. Haecker, Jule M. Hannaford, George H. Hutchinson, Herbert P. Keller, Richard L. Kennedy, Charles J. Moos, Charles Murray, James Nankivell, Arthur E. Nelson, Mrs. Boyd Nixon, Clement A. Ouellette, Gale W. Perry, Walter Rasmussen, Walter F. Rosenwald, William Rowe, Mrs. Mary S. Schmidt, Charles Skooglun, Webster Wheelock, and Edwin White, all of St. Paul.

RED LAKE: William Bottineau of Plummer.

RENVILLE: Mrs. Michael J. Dowling of Olivia and Emil Thang of Sacred Heart.

RICE: Charles N. Sayles of Faribault; and Reverend William E. Griffith, Mrs. George E. Huntington, and Andrew A. Rowberg of Northfield.

ST. LOUIS: Charles E. Adams, Albert Baldwin, Mrs. Julia M. Barnes, Alexander W. Hartman, Robert Kelly, Hugh J. McClearn, Charlotte V. Miller, John S. Pardee, George Rupley, and S. Valentine Saxby of Duluth; George A. Whitman of Eveleth; and Mabel M. Parker of Gilbert.

STEARNS: Reverend Theodore C. Hudson of Paynesville; and Samuel H. Grannis, Mrs. Fred Schilplin, and Darius Steward of St. Cloud.

STEVENS: Charles B. Kloos of Donnelly.

TODD: Lawrence H. Nelson of Little Sauk.

WADENA: Bryce E. Lehman of Wadena.

WASECA: M. Isabelle Davidson and Roscoe P. Ward of Waseca.

WASHINGTON: Mrs. J. W. Daniels of Dellwood.

WILKIN: Julius Schendel of Campbell and Knute K. Peterson of Rothsay.

WINONA: Samuel L. Prentiss, Benjamin F. Stalcup, and Paul Watkins of Winona.

NONRESIDENT: Maude V. Boise of Los Angeles, Charles McC. Reeve, and Mrs. Charles McC. Reeve of Pasadena, California; Mrs. George L. Shattuck of Ames and Florence M. Schilling of New Hampton, Iowa; Reverend Wiley A. Keve of Chanute, Kansas; Lewis F. Crawford of Bismarck and W. D. Henry of Wahpeton, North Dakota; Mrs. John M. Norris of Oroville and Henrietta Oftedal of Prosser, Washington; and Petter L. Lundberg of Ullstorp, Onnestad, Sweden.

The society lost five active members by death during the six months ending September 30, 1922: Cyrus Northrop of Minneapolis, April 3; John F. Rosenwald of Madison, April 25; Edwin Clark of Minneapolis, April 28; Emma E. Vose of St. Paul, July 12; and Christopher C. Andrews of St. Paul, September 21.

Thirty additional subscribers to the society's publications were enrolled during the six months ending September 30, 1922, as follows: the public libraries of Anoka and Princeton; public schools in Atwater, Brownton, Elkton, Eveleth (the Junior and Senior high schools and the normal training department), Fairfax, Fairmont, Farmington, Hayfield, Hoffman, Jackson, Lancaster, Little Falls, Luverne, McGrath, Morristown, Mound, Ogilvie, Red Wing, Rochester, Rustad, St. James, St. Paul (Mechanic Arts High School), Ulen, and Windom; the College of St. Catherine, St. Paul; and the College of St. Teresa, Winona.

Accessions

"There is something more affecting, it seems to me, in parting with friends in the midst of this mountain region . . . than in the ordinary separations which must necessarily occur among our friends in the midst of civilization" confided Mr. Samuel R. Bond to his diary as he rode his solitary way over the dividing ridge of the Rocky Mountains to join the leader of the Fisk exposition of 1862 while his teamster turned back to winter with the emigrants whom the expedition had escorted for three weary months from Fort Abercrombie across the plains and into the mountains. At the Prickly Pear River the emigrant train had encountered prospectors who had panned gold in that stream. The lure of the precious metal broke up the expedition, for most of the emigrants altered their plans and decided to remain in the mountains for the winter. Captain Fisk and his men, including the secretary of the expedition, Mr. Bond, pursued their way to Walla Walla. The original journal kept by Mr. Bond has been loaned to the society for copying by the Ipswich Historical Society of Ipswich, Massachusetts, into the custody of which Mr. Bond, who is still living, has placed his diary of 241 folio pages. It tells the story of the expedition in detail. It records the long days on the route with ox teams, nights under the stars in camps guarded by sentinels, buffalo hunts, encounters with grizzly bears, brushes with Indians, the warm hospitality tendered the emigrants at government and fur-trading posts, and many other incidents of the journey. The diary is of special Minnesota interest because many of the party were from St. Paul and its vicinity — including Pierre Bottineau, the guide of the expedition — and because descriptions are given of those parts of the state through which the party moved from St. Paul to Fort Abercrombie. Mr. Bond's official report of the expedition, published as a government document, omits much of the interesting detail and local color which are to be found in the journal.

French, German, Russian, Scandinavian, and other modern languages have been represented among the manuscripts received

by the society in the past, but it is only recently that Latin documents have been added to the collection. A letter signed by Ferdinand II, "by the grace of God chosen Emperor of the Romans, ever Augustus, and King of Germany, Hungary, Bohemia," has been donated by Mr. J. Louis Billau of St. Paul. The document, which bears the date 1636, is written in the medieval Latin of the church, with abbreviations and words which might have puzzled a Cicero. Writing to the new bishop of Jaurinum, the emperor suggests in no ambiguous terms that the obligation of furnishing the dowry promised by the late bishop to the nuns of St. Clara on the event of the latter's sister entering that order, goes with the office and must be paid by the new incumbent. A unusually beautiful seal, still intact, adorns the document. A translation of the original Latin letter is printed in the *Minneapolis Journal* for May 3, 1922. A papal bull, issued by Pope Pius VI in 1786 and written in Latin on fine parchment, has also been presented by Mr. Billau.

Information about early conditions in the St. Croix lumbering district is contained in a letter by Levi Stratton dated August 4, 1839. This letter is among several family papers presented to the society by Miss Ella Stratton of Excelsior. "I was one of a company of 35 men that went up for the purpose of building a large saw mill on the St. Croix river," writes Stratton. "The Palmyra the Boat that I went on was the first Boat that entered the river." Another item among the papers is a time record of the workmen who, under Stratton's direction, constructed the first bridge across the Rum River in 1853.

A small collection of papers relating to the Faribault family, and including valuable data on Jean Baptiste and Alexander Faribault, has been received from the estate of Stephen Jewett of Faribault.

The reminiscences of Mrs. Julia A. Spears, containing an account of Hole-in-the-Day, have been presented by the author through the courtesy of Miss Frances Densmore of Red Wing.

Some valuable new materials on the Sioux War have recently been received by the society. The reminiscences of Thomas Jefferson Hunt, presented by his son, Mr. Hamlin Hunt of Minneapolis, record graphically the experiences of a resident in the Sioux War area, a member of Sibley's expedition in 1862, and a soldier in the South during the latter part of the Civil War. Another account of the Sioux War by a contemporary is the reminiscences of Aaron Myers, dictated about 1885 and now presented to the society by a grandson, Mr. Fred B. Myers of Duluth. The document contains a vivid account of the siege of New Ulm.

A letter written before Vicksburg on the eve of its surrender and one of the Vicksburg newspapers printed on wall paper have been received from Mr. John Bradford of St. Paul.

An old manuscript book of recipes, simple prescriptions, and directions for making strange concoctions which the pioneer enjoyed has been presented by Dr. William E. Leonard of Minneapolis. The document throws light upon the self-reliance of settlers who had recourse neither to apothecary nor to brewer.

The subscription list of the *New Ulm Pioneer,* an early German newspaper which contains valuable data on German immigration to Minnesota, has been presented to the society by Mr. Hugo Roos of Kansas City, who possesses the only known file of this rare paper.

The Indian collection has been enriched by gifts of Sioux Indian articles, including silver bracelets, a rosary, a beaded knife sheath, a silver brooch, and stone arrow points, spear points, and knives, from Mr. and Mrs. M. D. Pendergast of Sarnia, Ontario; and a grooved stone hammer found in Rock County in June, 1922, from Mr. Hugh P. Taylor of Jasper. A carved Indian war club, probably of Sioux origin, made from the antlers of an elk, is the gift of Mr. Max Distel of Le Sueur.

A considerable number of valuable additions to the society's domestic life and costume collections have been made recently.

These include bonnets, hats, dresses, shoes, and articles of lace from the period of the eighties and nineties, from Mrs. James A. Lovejoy of Minneapolis through the courtesy of Miss Mabel Gardner; a carpet bag carried in 1830 and a wedding gown of 1879 from Mrs. Mary K. Swain of Winona; a small hand sewing machine of the sixties from Mr. Christopher Arnold of St. Paul; a collapsible bootjack made about 1862 from Mr. Edward C. Hall of St. Paul; a small mahogany dressing case over a hundred and fifty years old, which was brought from Germany by Mrs. Auguste L. Larpenteur, from Mrs. Teresa Briggs of St. Paul; and a blue Staffordshire cream pitcher of the "Wild Rose" pattern, dated 1784, from Miss Inez Dickson of St. Paul. An old-fashioned corner whatnot, accompanied by a large vase of wax flowers with a bell-jar cover and a wreath of shell flowers, presented by Mrs. Hascal R. Brill of St. Paul, together with some additional nicknacks characteristic of the seventies and eighties, when whatnots flourished, make an interesting addition to the exhibits in the musuem. A brass fire shovel which has been deposited by Mr. and Mrs. Frank P. Garcken of Minneapolis is said to be part of a set presented by George Washington to Mr. Garcken's great-grandmother.

Three interesting additions have been made recently to the society's picture collection. Dr. Otto L. Schmidt of Chicago has presented two fine old water color sketches, one of Fort Snelling and the other entitled "Sioux Encampment, Upper Mississippi," which are signed "F. Jackson" and dated 1857. Two etchings by Charles W. Post — one of the Sibley House and the other of the old Larpenteur cabin which stood in what is the Midway district of St. Paul — have been received from a friend of the society. Mrs. Erasmus C. Lindley has presented a pen and ink sketch by C. A. Vanderhoof of General Meade's headquarters at Culpepper Court House during the Civil War.

Portraits received recently include a pastel of General Charles P. Adams of Hastings, from Mr. E. R. Haseltine of Minneapolis; an enlarged photograph of the Reverend Eric Norelius, pioneer

Swedish Lutheran missionary, author, and educator, from his son, Mr. Sigfrid Norelius of Lindstrom; a photograph of Charles W. Ames of St. Paul, from Mrs. Ames; a crayon of Judge Hascal R. Brill of St. Paul, from Mrs. Brill; and crayons of Mr. and Mrs. James A. Bull, who were leaders in the Granger movement of the seventies, from their son, Mr. Coates P. Bull of St. Paul.

Several additions have been made recently to the society's collection of objects illustrating military history. Civil War uniforms and equipment of General C. C. Andrews and of Lieutenant Elias D. Libbey, who was adjutant general of the state from 1901 to 1905, are gifts from Miss Alice Andrews and Mrs. Libbey of St. Paul, respectively. The army saddle used by General Emory Upton in the Civil War has been presented by Mrs. Rose E. Bascom of Fargo, North Dakota; and another Civil War saddle, together with sabres and spurs, used by General Charles P. Adams, is a gift of Mr. E. R. Haseltine of Minneapolis. Bone saws, amputating knives, a tourniquet, needles, and other surgical instruments are included in a case used by Dr. William H. Leonard during the Civil War, now presented to the society by his son, Dr. William E. Leonard of Minneapolis. From Mr. Joseph McAloon of St. Louis the society has received an army canteen of the Civil War period and an army food can of the type used in the World War. Miss Frances Rogers of St. Paul, who served as a nurse in France during the war, has presented a rubber life-saving suit which she took with her through the submarine zone.

A small skin trunk and a cane seat rocking chair taken by the Givens family in their flight from the Yellow Medicine Agency at the time of the Indian Outbreak of 1862, together with photographs of Mr. and Mrs. Nelson Givens, have been deposited by Mr. Matthew Patterson of Plano, Illinois.

An old flintlock gun which was dredged from the bottom of Lake Pepin some years ago is the gift of Miss Cora Richardson of Lake City. The piece is still cocked, but it is so corroded that marks indicating place or date of manufacture have been effaced.

An unusually interesting addition to the numismatic collection has been deposited with the society by Mr. J. W. Kamrar of Blue Earth. It is a four *daler* plate money piece issued by Charles XII of Sweden in 1716, and it is approximately ten inches square and weighs nearly seven pounds.

An almost complete set of Confederate notes of the issue of February 17, 1864, is the gift of Dr. William W. Folwell of Minneapolis.

The society's map collection has recently been enriched by two valuable gifts. Nine maps of America, chiefly the work of early French and German cartographers, have been presented by Mr. John Jager of Minneapolis, through the courtesy of Mr. Edward C. Gale. Five bear dates from 1817 to 1824; the other four are undated but the interesting geographical distortions which they show indicate that they represent a considerably earlier period. Mrs. William W. Redfield of Minneapolis has presented a collection of seventy-eight maps, including an 1851 Nichols map of St. Paul.

The largest lot of printed material received recently came from Faribault and included a second installment of diocesan reports, magazines, and books from the Episcopal diocese of Minnesota. Accompanying this material were many books from the Seabury Divinity School and a large part of the private library of the Reverend George C. Tanner, former registrar of the diocese of Minnesota, the whole lot exceeding four thousand items. The society now possesses a remarkable collection of Episcopal diocesan reports and journals; and, with the assistance of the Reverend Francis L. Palmer of Faribault, the present registrar of the diocese, an attempt is being made to fill in the gaps and to keep the collection up-to-date. (See *ante*, p. 167, 273.)

From the Colonial Dames of America in Minnesota has been received a handsome volume entitled *Journal of a Lady of Quality; Being the Narrative of a Journey from Scotland to the West Indies, North Carolina, and Portugal, in the Years 1774*

to 1776, edited by Evangeline Walker Andrews in collaboration with Charles M. Andrews (New Haven, 1921. 341 p.)

A *Catalogue of Stocks, Bonds, Western Lands, Town Lots, and other Real Estate, Belonging to the Estate of Jay Cooke and Co. in Bankruptcy,* issued for an auction sale in 1880 and recently acquired by this society, lists and describes several hundred holdings in Minnesota, particularly in Duluth and the northeastern section of the state. The prices of lots, the descriptions of towns and lands, and the detailed evidence of Jay Cooke's Minnesota interests shown in the catalogue make it a useful source of information on the state's economic history.

NEWS AND COMMENT

A well-reasoned article on "The Approach to History," by Logan Esarey, in the *Indiana Magazine of History* for June, although of interest primarily to teachers, is not without general value. The writer considers the culture-epoch theory and the heroic approach to history to be unsound and vicious. He dismisses "the idea of adulterating or diluting history to make it easier for the earlier grades," and discloses his own point of view by the remark, "Evidently the approach to history must begin nearer home and nearer now."

One tendency of the times in historical society work is to expand the field of activity and thus enlarge the range of service. Recognition of this was given at one session of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association which convened at Iowa City on May 11 and 12, at which there was a discussion of "The Coöperation of State Historical Societies with Universities," led by Professor Clarence W. Alvord of the University of Minnesota and Dr. Joseph Schafer, superintendent of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin. Another subject considered at the same session was "The Promotion of Helpful Relations between State Historical Societies and other Organizations," with talks by Eunice G. Anderson and Doane Robinson.

The leading article in the *Mississippi Valley Historical Review* for June is a study of "Propaganda as a Source of American History," by Frank M. Hodder. The writer believes that there is "need of a thorough reëxamination of the sources upon which our history has been based," and that this devolves upon the rising generation of scholars who "will be free from the prepossessions that unconsciously controlled the older writers." In the "Notes and Documents" section of the same number, a typical "America letter," written by a Norwegian immigrant, Gjert G. Hovland, on April 22, 1835, is translated and edited by Theodore C. Blegen. The translation is based upon a transcrip-

tion now in the manuscript collection of the Minnesota Historical Society. An account of "The Fifteenth Annual Meeting of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association," by Louis Pelzer, appears in the September number of the *Review*. In the same issue Dr. George M. Stephenson calls attention to "An Important Swedish Source," namely *Minnen från en sjuttonärig vistelse i Nordvestra Amerika* ("Reminiscences of a Seventeen-year Sojourn in Northwestern America"), by Gustaf Unonius (Upsala, 1861, 1862. 2 vols.). He translates from this important work a few pages describing a meeting of a claim association to which Unonius belonged — an "excellent description of the practical working of pioneer democracy." A translation of the entire work would make available for western historians a very illuminating source.

A valuable article on "The Development of Metropolitan Economy in Europe and America," by Norman S. B. Gras, is published in the *American Historical Review* for July. The author believes that the latest stage in economic history is the development of metropolitan areas in each of which is a center which concentrates the trade of a definitely marked hinterland. The Twin Cities, for example, constitute the center for a metropolitan area which ignores the conventional political boundaries.

A Report of a Visit to Various Archives Centres in Europe, United States of America, and Canada, by C. Graham Botha, chief archivist for the Union of South Africa (Pretoria, Transvaal, 1921. 67 p.) is a compendium of useful information about archives and archival problems: centralization, departmental records, custody, care and arrangement, buildings, repair, destruction of "valueless" documents, administration and staff, publications, and public use.

"The Immigrant in American History" is the title of a brief but suggestive article by Carl Wittke in the *Historical Outlook* for June. The writer urges that greater attention be given to "the peculiar reaction of the various racial groups to the new environment" and to "the many things they brought with them

to affect and determine much of our political, economic and social development."

A pamphlet entitled *A Temple of American History, The William L. Clements Library,* by William W. Bishop (Ann Arbor, 1922. 14 p.), tells of the plans of the University of Michigan to assemble in a separate building a remarkable collection of Americana.

E. H. Harriman: A Biography, by George Kennan (Boston and New York, 1922. 421, 421 p.), is an important contribution to American transportation history and is of special Minnesota interest for its account of Harriman's relations to James J. Hill, particularly in the struggle for control of the Burlington road and in the formation of the Northern Securities Company.

Minnesota communities interested in the presentation of local historical pageants will find of suggestive value a pamphlet entitled *The Historical Pageant in the Rural Community,* by Abigail F. Halsey, published in June, 1922, as number 54 of the *Extension Bulletins* of the New York State College of Agriculture at Cornell University (p. 319–342).

An interesting article on the "Medicine Songs of George Farmer" is contributed by Albert B. Reagan of Kayenta, Arizona, to the July–September number of the *American Anthropologist.* The author was for a time Indian agent at Nett Lake for the Bois Fort Chippewa of northern Minnesota, and the songs used during the ceremonies of initiation into the Grand Medicine Lodge were collected at that time.

In a volume entitled *Ebenezer: Reviews of the Work of the Missouri Synod During Three Quarters of a Century,* edited by W. H. T. Dau (St. Louis, 1922. 536 p.), one chapter tells of the work of this Lutheran organization in the Northwest, and another deals with "The Missouri Synod and the Norwegians."

Lutheran Mission Work Among the American Indians is the title of a book by Dr. Albert Keiser (Minneapolis, 1922. 191

p.), one chapter of which deals with Lutheran activity among the Chippewa in Michigan and Minnesota.

A number of Paul Bunyan tales are assembled by Charles E. Brown in a pamphlet prepared for the use of students at the University of Wisconsin (Madison, 1922. 7 p.). After telling some of the wonderful exploits of the mythical hero of the lumberjacks, Mr. Brown presents a brief Paul Bunyan bibliography.

The history of the northern Missouri Valley was reviewed in an elaborate pageant presented at Mandan and at Bismarck, North Dakota, on September 18, 19, and 20.

"The story of the making of our commonwealths of the Upper Mississippi Valley is not destined to be hidden in the mists of obscurity or to be handed down by means of doubtful or casual and fragmentary record." Thus writes Dr. Albert Shaw in an article entitled "Records of Northwestern Pioneering," published in the *Review of Reviews* for April. He deals with such records in biography by reviewing Hamlin Garland's *A Son of the Middle Border* and *A Daughter of the Middle Border;* and in the field of fiction he discusses *Vandemark's Folly,* by Herbert Quick. Taking the first volume of Dr. Folwell's *History of Minnesota* as the basis for his consideration of northwestern pioneering records as they are dealt with in history, he writes: "We have had no historical writing of a similar kind that has disclosed greater skill than that of Dr. Folwell in the discriminating use of a multitude of authorities. . . . No man of forty could write with a more virile mastery of his documentary materials and of his intellectual resources than has Dr. Folwell written, as he approaches completion of his ninth decade."

The University of California has brought out as volume 11 in its series of *Publications in History* a study of *Official Explorations for Pacific Railroads 1853–1855,* by George L. Albright (Berkeley, California, 1921. 187 p.). The author deals with the official Pacific railroad survey of 1853–55 as "the first

attempt of the government at a comprehensive, systematic examination of the vast region lying between the Mississippi River and the Pacific Ocean." The most interesting chapter in the book for Minnesota readers is that dealing with "Stevens's Explorations between the Forty-seventh and Forty-ninth Parallels." The plans for these explorations were very elaborate; four separate parties in fact coöperated. One was under the supervision of Governor Isaac I. Stevens and was instructed "to operate from St. Paul on the Mississippi westward towards the mouth of White Earth River; thence on the prairies lying along the Missouri River to the Rocky Mountains and through the passes of that region." A second party, under Captain George B. McClellan, was "to set out from Fort Vancouver on the Columbia and operate northeastward through the passes of the Cascade Range, and thence eastward to join Governor Stevens's party." Two other parties were to examine respectively the Missouri River from its mouth to Fort Union at the mouth of the Yellowstone, and the region from Fort Walla Walla to the Bitter Root Valley. A brief account is given of the course of the Stevens party in Minnesota, based upon the official report of the expedition. The author has traced on a large map the routes of all the explorations which he describes in his text.

A short sketch of Norwegian life and activity in America from the days of Leif Ericson down to the present is presented in a booklet of thirty pages entitled *Normændene i Amerika* by Amandus Norman (Hanska, Minnesota, 1922).

Brief biographical sketches of a number of Norwegian immigrants appear in the volumes for 1921–22 and 1923 of the *Yearbook* series of Opdalslaget. In a similar series issued by Mjösenlaget, the volumes for 1918, 1919, and 1920-21 contain a wealth of material about the region in southern Norway from which the members of this *lag* have come. Much information about Numedal, Norway, and the emigration from that district to America is contained in the eighth volume in the series of *Yearbooks* issued by Numedalslaget (1922. 96 p.).

Selbygbogen: Meddelelser om Selbyggernes Slægt i Amerika og deres Virke, by the Reverend John U. Pedersen (Minneapolis, 1921. 444 p.), contains a mass of biographical information about Norwegians in the United States who have come from the Selbu district in Norway. One chapter is devoted to an interesting account of the conditions on board ship crossing the Atlantic in the sixties.

A brief survey of the history of the Swedish Baptists in the United States is made in *Efter sjuttio år (1852–1922): Svenska baptiströrelsens uppkomst och utveckling i Amerika* (St. Paul, 1922. 45 p.).

Much information about Gustavus Adolphus College of St. Peter and the Augustana Synod is assembled in volume 8 of *My Church: An Illustrated Lutheran Manual,* by Ira O. Nothstein (Rock Island, Illinois, 1922. 136 p.).

"The First Traders in Wisconsin," by Louise Phelps Kellogg, in the *Wisconsin Magazine of History* for June, deals with two figures familiar to all students of Minnesota history, Radisson and Groseilliers. The author advances the theory that Groseilliers made a trip to the western Indians in 1654, but that he was not accompanied by Radisson who at that time may have been in France. Groseilliers returned in 1656 and may have induced Radisson then to accompany him to the West for a year of profitable trade with the Indians. This supposition, in Miss Kellogg's opinion, would explain Radisson's description of the outward journey of 1656 as his first introduction to the West. It would also explain his assertion that the voyage lasted three years, "since he was describing both his own and Groseilliers' adventures." In other words, Dr. Kellogg suggests that whereas Radisson, on his voyage, spent only one year in the West, 1657, his descriptions cover the period from 1654 to 1657. An interesting contribution to the September number of the magazine is an editorial by Dr. Joseph Schafer on "Historical 'Firsts,' 'Exclusives,' and 'Incomparables.'" A note of warning is sounded which local historians generally should heed.

"Just as the cities of ancient Greece contend for the honor of being the birthplace of Homer, so most modern towns, through their historian spokesmen, try to lay claim to some unique distinction, something in which they are *exclusive,* if not exclusive then *first,* and if not first at least *incomparable.*" But frequently the basis of such "amiable indulgence in community self-gratulation" is "most unsubstantial."

"It seemed, indeed, that the only way in which Iowa was able to solve the problem of the sale of liquor to the Indians, was to send the Indians beyond its jurisdiction," writes Dr. John C. Parish in an article entitled "Liquor and the Indians," published in the July number of the *Palimpsest.*

Under the general title of "Iowa Troops in the Sully Campaigns," contemporary records kept by three Iowa soldiers who participated in the campaigns of 1864 and 1865 against the Sioux are printed in the July number of the *Iowa Journal of History and Politics.* Naturally there are many references to the Minnesota troops which constituted a large proportion of General Sully's command. The same magazine contains an interesting article entitled "Sioux City and the Black Hills Gold Rush 1874–1877," by Erik M. Eriksson.

An Indiana law of 1921 authorizes the county commissioners in each county which has or may have an historical society to appropriate the sum of fifteen hundred dollars per year to pay the salary of a curator and to meet other expenses of the local society.

A reminiscent article on "Old Fort Garry in the Seventies," by William J. Morris, published in the *Annual Report and Transaction* of the Women's Canadian Historical Society of Toronto for 1918 (no. 18), tells of a trip made via St. Paul from eastern Ontario to Fort Garry in 1876.

A *Catalogue of the Hudson's Bay Company's Historical Exhibit at Winnipeg, 1922* (Winnipeg, 1922. 72 p.) lists items under the headings of early history; furs; Indians; life in the

service; forts, posts, and stores; fights and wars; and land and settlement.

The *Beaver* continues to bring out historical articles relating to the Canadian Northwest, many of which are of considerable interest for Minnesota readers. The second part of a study of "La Verendrye," by D. C. Harvey (see *ante*, p. 288) is published in that magazine for April. The reminiscences of H. J. Moberly are continued in the six numbers from April to September (see *ante*, p. 287). An interesting article on "The Birchbark Canoe, an Important Factor in H.B.C. Transport from Earliest Times," by H. M. S. Cotter, appears in the June and July numbers. To the September issue Mr. R. C. MacBeth contributes the first installment of his "Strathcona, Personal Recollections of the Highland Lad, Apprenticed to the Great Company on the Labrador, Who Eventually Became Governor of H.B.C."

General Minnesota Items

The valuable series of "Historical Sketches of Minnesota" published in the *Minneapolis Journal*, continues from January 11 to April 28, 1922 (see *ante*, p. 288). The articles, which number seventy-five, have been prepared with considerable care. Many of them are based on manuscripts, books, or museum objects in the possession of the Minnesota Historical Society. Among the topics of local interest to Minneapolis readers may be noted "The First Flour Mill in Minneapolis" (no. 1), "Nicollet Avenue Named After Pioneer" (no. 23), "Printers' Union Formed in 1859" — the story of the organization of the first typographical union in St. Anthony and Minneapolis — (no. 40), "Early Estimates of St. Anthony Falls" (no. 41), "Minneapolis' First Masonic Lodge" (no. 43), "Minneapolis' First Daily Newspaper" (no. 47), and "Minneapolis' First Fire Department" (no. 51). The writer of the sketches has a fondness for "firsts," as the titles mentioned above indicate. Other stories of this type are "Stillwater's First Schoolbell" (no. 39)

and "St. Paul's First Post Office" (no. 38). Many of the subjects are of more general interest, however, for the series includes sketches of early Mississippi steamboating (no. 2), the coming of the railway and the telegraph (no. 3), the discovery of Lake Minnetonka and of Minnehaha Falls (no. 5), the Carver grant (no. 11), oxcart travel (no. 12), the two Minnesota state constitutions (no. 16), Horace Greeley's opinion of the state (no. 24), the Pipestone quarries (no. 32), the territorial election of 1849 (no. 42), the grasshopper plague of 1873 (no. 53), the discovery of iron ore (no. 57), and Seward's visit to Minnesota in 1860 (no. 66). Some of the articles deal with the work of the Minnesota Historical Society and with special problems connected with the preservation of records. "Mending Down-and-Out Documents" (no. 58) is the title of a very clear explanation of the manner in which torn manuscripts are handled. Another series, somewhat similar in nature, which appears in the *Journal* from May 1 to May 12 and comprises eight short articles, bears the title "Historical Relics of Minnesota."

"Landmarks of Minnesota History" is the title of yet another series in the *Minneapolis Journal,* which begins in the issue of August 17 and includes twenty-six articles up to November 20. The chief interest of this series, which is the work of Mr. Arthur T. Adams, lies in the pictures of historic sites which are presented. Most of the topics are drawn from the events and scenes of the Sioux War. The illustrations are interesting and the explanatory material is carefully written.

How Mr. Edward H. Bromley of Minneapolis assembled his valuable collection of photographs is told in a lengthy article in the *Minneapolis Journal* for April 30 entitled "Priceless Photographs of Early Minnesota Saved by One Man's Foresight."

A system of Minnesota state parks linked by trunk highways is proposed in an article in the *St. Paul Pioneer Press* for September 10, in which the views of the Honorable Ray P. Chase, state auditor, are explained.

The annual meeting of the Minnesota Territorial Pioneers' Association was held at the Old Capitol, St. Paul, on May 11 — the sixty-fourth anniversary of Minnesota's admission to the Union. Among other pioneer organizations which have met recently are the Stearns County Old Settlers' Association at St. Cloud on June 6, the Kandiyohi County Old Settlers' Association in Sibley State Park on June 20, and the Pioneer Rivermen's Association in St. Paul on April 29. Veterans who were employed on the railroad between Minneapolis and McGregor, Iowa, during the years from 1864 to 1870 held their annual reunion at Owatonna on June 7. Four members of the Last Man's Club, composed of survivors of Company B, First Minnesota Volunteer Infantry, in the Civil War, met at the Sawyer House in Stillwater on July 21.

An illustrated lecture on "Historic Spots in Minnesota" was given by Mr. Arthur T. Adams to the Camp Fire Girls of Minneapolis on April 19. On April 28 Mr. Adams spoke on the same subject at Redwood Falls. He described many interesting historic sites and monuments in the state and gave special attention to the region of the Sioux Outbreak.

The *Year Book* for 1922 issued by the Daughters of the American Revolution of Minnesota (73 p.) contains a large amount of information in compact form, including a brief history of the state organization and a valuable list of fourteen "monuments erected and places of historic interest marked" during the period from 1903 to 1921. There is also a brief account of the Sibley House and its administration. The attitude of the state regent, Mrs. Marshall H. Coolidge, on the question of marking historic sites is indicated in her message in which she quotes the line, "Monuments are enduring links, which bind one generation to another."

The series of articles in the *Minneapolis Journal* entitled "Backtrailing History on Old Frontiers with Charles M. Russel" includes one on May 21 about the career of Radisson. The author of this account accepts the interpretation of Radisson's

narrative which gives the explorer credit for the discovery of the Mississippi River.

A picture of frontier life at Fort Snelling, of Pike's purchase of the site from the Indians, of the arrival of the first troops in 1819, and of the erection of the first buildings, is sketched by Thomas H. Moodie in the *Daily News* of Minneapolis for May 20. The personalities of Pike, Leavenworth, Snelling, Taliaferro, and Bailly dominate the story, which is illustrated with portraits of Pike and Snelling and with early views of the fort.

A letter written in 1912 by Jeremiah J. Landrigan, who came to Read's Landing in 1855, in which he explains the details of an Indian murder, trial, and punishment, is published in the *Minneapolis Tribune* for April 2 as an example of pioneer judicial procedure.

The sixtieth anniversary of the beginning of the Sioux Outbreak was the occasion for an elaborate celebration in New Ulm from August 16 to 19 and for many newspaper stories about the events of 1862. Benedict Juni's reminiscences are printed in the *St. Paul Daily News* for August 20 as part of a feature story on the outbreak. An article on the massacre appears in the *Minneapolis Tribune* for August 13 and the narrative of Christ Spelbrink is printed in the *Minneapolis Journal* for the same date. Among the speakers at the New Ulm celebration were Mr. Samuel McAuliff, one of the defenders of the city in 1862, Mr. Thomas Hughes of Mankato, and the Honorable John Lind. In a letter printed in the *Journal* of September 10 Mr. Marion P. Satterlee makes an estimate of the number of whites killed as a result of the war. Including two persons who died of heart failure and one person who was killed by a stroke of lightning, there were 412 civilians and 77 enlisted soldiers killed. A more dependable estimate, however, in Mr. Satterlee's opinion, is 392 civilians and 77 soldiers. A celebration at Fort Ridgely on August 22 commemorated the raising of the siege of that stronghold by General Sibley in 1862. "The Girl Who Was Traded for a Horse" is the title of an illustrated feature article based

upon an interview with Mrs. Mary Schwandt Schmidt of St. Paul in the *Minneapolis Journal* for June 11. Mrs. Schmidt retells the story of her capture by the Indians during the Sioux Outbreak of 1862 and of her rescue by the squaw, Snana. Reminiscences of the Sioux Outbreak and especially of the refugees from Jackson, Minnesota, form an interesting part of "A Brief History of the Early Settlement of Spirit Lake, Iowa," by Harriet Kingman Farnham, which is published in the *Bulletin* of the Lake Okoboji Protective Association for 1922 (no. 18).

The fifty-fourth anniversary of the occupation of the White Earth reservation by the Chippewa was celebrated by resident Indians on June 14. A sham battle between the Chippewa and visiting Sioux was a feature of the celebration. The seventy-first anniversary of the signing of the treaty of Traverse des Sioux is the occasion for the publication of a feature article in the *Minneapolis Journal* for July 30. The fact that the descendents of the Indians who signed the treaty are at last to receive payments declared forfeited after the Sioux Massacre is noted.

An account of the James and Younger bandit raid on Northfield in 1876, based upon an interview with Dr. H. M. Wheeler, an eyewitness, appears in the *Minneapolis Journal* for April 23.

Interesting conjectures as to what might have been if things had not occurred precisely as they did occur are presented in an article on a group of prominent political leaders including Cushman K. Davis, William R. Merriam, Winfield S. Hammond, and Robert C. Dunn in the *Minneapolis Journal* for August 13. The article, which is the work of Mr. Charles B. Cheney, bears the title: "'If': Keyword in Minnesota Political Destinies, as in Roosevelt's."

Veterans of the Civil, Spanish-American, and World wars gathered at Fort Snelling on September 21 to attend a reunion of members of the Third United States Infantry, which is said to be the "oldest regiment in the army." Its history is outlined by Elliott Tarbell in the *St. Paul Daily News* for September 3.

An attractive booklet entitled *In Memoriam: Hascal R. Brill, 1846–1922* has been compiled by the Ramsey County Bar Association to honor the memory of the late Judge Hascal R. Brill. It contains the proceedings of a memorial service held on April 15, 1922, at the Ramsey County Court House; an address delivered by the Reverend Henry C. Swearingen at the House of Hope Church, St. Paul, on March 19; addresses by Dr. Samuel F. Kerfoot and the Reverend Frank A. Cone, made at the First Methodist Episcopal Church, St. Paul, on Easter Sunday; and various other tributes.

The personal narrative of the "Life and Adventures of Capt. Stephen B. Hanks," which has been running in the *Saturday Evening Post* of Burlington, Iowa, comes to an end with the installment in the issue of April 15. The story is then taken up by the author's son, Mr. M. W. Hanks of Stillwater, who presents a brief outline of his father's life from 1882 to his death in 1917. Despite this apparent termination, however, installments continue to appear; for the editor, Captain Fred A. Bill, separates from the main narrative all lengthy descriptions of the upper Mississippi River and these are published from May 6 to July 15. They contain some excellent material on the origin and early aspect of innumerable river towns. Estimates of Captain Hanks's career by former associates make up the installments for July 22 and 29 and conclude the series. Captain Bill has contributed numerous other interesting articles to the *Post* during the past six months. Extracts from a diary kept by the mother of Orrin F. Smith of Winona during a trip "Down the Ohio River and up the Mississippi and Illinois Rivers in 1833" appear on August 5; and in the issues for August 12 and 19 is an account of the "Hot Springs Railroad . . . Prepared for the Seventieth Anniversary Record of the Chicago, Rock Island, and Pacific Railroad." Some additional material relating to river traffic, including a "list of boats that exploded," compiled by Captain J. W. Darrah of Stillwater, appears in the issues of the *Post* for July 29 and September 9 and 16; and Captain J. M. Turner's "Recollections of the Old River" also are continued.

A paper read by Captain Bill before the Pioneer Rivermen's Association at St. Paul on April 29 about the "First Round Trip of the Steamer Virginia on the Upper Mississippi" between St. Louis and Fort St. Anthony in 1823 is published in four installments on July 8, 15, 22, and 29. That the "Virginia" left St. Louis on April 23 and probably arrived at Fort St. Anthony on May 10, 1823, is the conclusion reached by Captain Bill, according to an article in the *Minneapolis Journal* for August 20.

An illustrated story entitled "Read's Landing Relives Old Days When Town Was 'Metropolis,'" which appears in the *Minneapolis Journal* for June 25, tells about the home-coming meeting of the Read's Landing Association on June 24.

In the *American-Scandinavian Review* for August, 1922, there is an illustrated article entitled "Two American Sculptors: Fjelde — Father and Son," by Luth Jaeger. The best-known works of the father, Jacob Fjelde, who came to Minneapolis in 1887 from Norway, are the monument to the First Minnesota Regiment, at Gettysburg; the figures representing the arts and sciences over the entrance to the library building of the University of Minnesota; the Ibsen bust in St. Paul; Hiawatha carrying Minnehaha, a bronze group placed on a rock in the creek above Minnehaha Falls; and the Ole Bull statue in Loring Park, Minneapolis. The son, Paul Fjelde, grew up on a North Dakota homestead to which the widow had gone with her family after the death of her husband in 1896. He became a student of Lorado Taft and has won distinction as an artist of original powers.

Several interesting newspaper articles on state agricultural history have recently been published. Joseph R. Brown and John Harrington Stevens figure in a story in the *Daily News* of Minneapolis for September 9 about early wheat raising and the earliest agricultural fair in Minnesota. A somewhat similar article, giving special attention to the development of dairying, appears in the *Minneapolis Journal* for June 25 under the title "Campaign Started 72 Years Ago Puts Minnesota in Van of Dairy States." A brief historical survey of the yield and acre-

age of Minnesota wheat is contributed to the *Journal* of May 26 by Professor Andrew Boss. "James J. Hill Was Great Apostle of Diversified Farming" is the title of an illustrated article by Charles F. Collisson in the *Minneapolis Tribune* for August 12, in which the empire builder's contributions to Minnesota agricultural development are discussed.

"Today Minnesota stands at the forefront of the cooperative movement in the United States." Such is the first sentence of a chapter on "The Minnesota Idea" in *The Modern Farm Cooperative Movement,* by Chesla C. Sherlock (Des Moines, 1922. 377 p.). Another chapter is devoted entirely to "The Minnesota Potato Exchange," and there is much of Minnesota interest in other chapters. The book is popular rather than scientific in tone, but it assembles much information that will be wanted some day by students of history and the documentary appendix will be especially welcomed.

An address on *Coöperative Marketing in Minnesota,* delivered by Governor Jacob A. O. Preus before the Lyon County Farm Bureau Federation at Marshall, Minnesota, on June 15, has been published as a twelve-page pamphlet. "Minnesota was not only a pioneer in the coöperative movement, but today leads the states in this method of marketing," writes the author. Compact information is given on farmers' mutual insurance, coöperative creameries and cheese factories, farmers' elevators, coöperative stores, potato marketing, and farmers' telephones in Minnesota.

The death on April 3 of Dr. Cyrus Northrop, president emeritus of the University of Minnesota, occasioned numerous articles in the press of the state on his long educational career. The circumstances attending his appointment as the second president of the university are described in a letter by Judge John B. Gilfillan of Minneapolis, which is published in the *Minneapolis Journal* for April 30. Judge Gilfillan was a member of the committee which went to New Haven, Connecticut, in 1884 to persuade Northrop, then a professor at Yale University, to come west.

Gustavus Adolphus College at St. Peter, the "alma mater of three Minnesota governors," celebrated the completion of sixty years of educational work on May 21. The history of the college from 1862, when it was founded at Red Wing by Dr. Erik Norelius, is reviewed in the *St. Paul Pioneer Press* for May 14.

Local History Items

During the week of July 3 the people of Brainerd celebrated the fiftieth anniversary of the founding of their city. A feature of the festivities was a parade composed of floats picturing various incidents in the city's history. The seventieth birthday of Osseo was celebrated by a community outing on July 11, and the *Minneapolis Journal* for that date prints a brief history of the village, which was founded by Pierre Bottineau. An article in the *St. Paul Dispatch* for May 17 notes that May 23 "will mark the sixty-fifth anniversary of the establishment of twelve counties of the state."

A pageant depicting the early history of Alexandria was given in that city on June 27 and 28. One scene, which was suggested by the Kensington rune stone inscription, represented the supposed arrival of the Northmen in 1362.

A valuable survey of "The Development of Itasca's Mining Industry" is published in the *Grand Rapids Herald-Review* for December, 1921. A letter from Mr. Leon E. Lum of Duluth, published in the same newspaper for April 5, 1922, tells of the attempts made by James Whitehead and Justus Ramsey to mine iron ore in the Itasca region before the Civil War.

The history of the building used by the Catholic Church of St. Vincent de Paul at Osseo for fifty-eight years is outlined in the *Minneapolis Journal* for May 21 in connection with an announcement that the old structure has been sold at auction.

The concluding articles of a series of four sketches entitled "Early Days in Le Sueur," by Bertha L. Heilbron (see *ante*, p. 297), appear in the *Le Sueur Herald* for April 5 and 19. The

third article deals with the arrival of the first passenger train in Le Sueur; the fourth describes the town's early hotels.

A series of one hundred short articles on the origins of Martin County names, which is published in the *Fairmont Daily Sentinel* from May 4 to August 31, brings together a large amount of useful historical information.

The story of the development under the direction of the Mayo family of St. Mary's Hospital at Rochester from a crude three-story brick structure with a capacity of forty patients in 1877 into one of the great surgical institutions of the world is outlined in the *St. Paul Pioneer Press* for May 7. An entire sixteen-page section is devoted to articles about the hospital, which opened its new surgical pavilion in May. A brief history of the City and County Hospital of St. Paul and a picture of the institution as it appeared in 1883 are published in the *St. Paul Daily News* for July 9. The growth of St. Luke's Hospital in St. Paul, which began with a small dwelling in 1857, is described in a brief article in the *Pioneer Press* for April 2.

The issue for June 1 of the *Wabasha County Herald* marks the beginning of the sixty-fifth year of its publication. In an editorial the history of the paper is briefly reviewed.

A pamphlet entitled *A Brief History of the Church of the Sacred Heart of Faribault, Minnesota* has been issued by its pastor, the Reverend Father I. Domestici (1922. 25 p.). The religious services of the first "French Catholic Church" of Faribault were held by the pioneer priest, Father Ravoux, in the frame house of Alexander Faribault, which was erected in 1853. The author traces the development of the church from that date down to 1922.

An unusually comprehensive and valuable congregational history has been issued by the Swedish Lutheran congregation of Svea, Minnesota, in connection with the celebration of the fiftieth anniversary of the founding of the church. The book is entitled *Jubel album utgivet av Svenska Ev. Lutherska Svea-Försam-*

lingen i Svea, Minnesota, 1870–1920 (Rock Island, Illinois, [n. d.]. 277 p.). Another Swedish Lutheran congregational history, which has not previously been noted, is *Minneskrift över Svenska Ev. Luth. Bethel Församlingen i Willmar, Minnesota* (1916. 51 p.).

To the published histories of Minnesota counties in the World War have recently been added volumes on Faribault, Norman, and Polk counties. These newly issued works are of the souvenir type already described in these pages (see *ante,* 3:212), but a few distinguishing features are to be noted. The volume on Faribault County (Wells, Minnesota, [n. d.]. [184] p.) contains, in addition to the usual military records, complete lists of local men registered for the draft. The volumes for Polk (Ada, Minnesota, 1922. 200 p.) and Norman (Ada, 1922. 188 p.) both contain those often omitted, but important, appendages—indexes to the records of service men. The publisher of the Polk County history, Mr. C. E. Wentsel of Ada, acknowledges his indebtedness, in part, to the local war records committee, one of the county branches of the state war records commission.

The story of the old Presbyterian Church at Fort Snelling is outlined in an article in the *Daily News* of Minneapolis for September 9. It is stated that the records of this church, which was organized in 1835, are now preserved by the First Presbyterian Church of Minneapolis.

Reminiscent articles about pioneers published in Twin City papers from April 1 to October 1, 1922, include recollections of James J. Hill, by one of his former employees, Mr. Henry D. Matthews, in the *St. Paul Dispatch* for June 19; accounts of the development of the Minneapolis fire department as observed by two pioneer members, Mr. Frank Bord and Mr. Charles W. Ringer, in the *Minneapolis Tribune* for April 9 and 30; some reminiscences of Mr. Vernon M. Smith, who served as chief of police in Minneapolis from 1893 to 1899, in the *Minneapolis Journal* for May 29; a brief outline of the career of Miss Olive A. Evers, founder and former principal of Stanley Hall, a girls' school of Minneapolis, in the *Tribune* for May 28; and an inter-

view, by M. Jessie Leitch, with Mrs. Eugenia B. Farmer, "Minnesota's pioneer suffragist," in the *Dispatch* for April 8. The services to Minneapolis of Charles M. Loring are recalled in a memorial tribute adopted by the Minneapolis board of park commissioners and published in the *Journal* of April 9. Recollections of "Other Days and Ways," and especially of the pioneer experiences of the family of James Hoffman in Minnesota by Wenonah Stevens Abbott, appear in the *Journal* for May 21.

The seventy-fifth anniversary of the founding of the First Baptist Bible School, which was organized in 1847 by Mrs. Harriet E. Bishop, was celebrated at the First Baptist Church of St. Paul on June 7. On May 6 and 7 Unity Church of St. Paul, "the oldest Unitarian organization in the Northwest," celebrated the semicentennial of its founding. Two Minneapolis churches, Simpson Methodist Episcopal Church and All Saints' Episcopal Church, celebrated their fortieth and fifty-first anniversaries respectively on April 30 and September 24. Histories of these churches appear in contemporary newspapers. A sketch of Gustavus Adolphus Swedish Evangelical Lutheran Church of St. Paul, which celebrated its thirty-second anniversary on July 1, and of the career of its pastor, the Reverend C. J. Carlson, appears in the *St. Paul Pioneer Press* for June 5.

An early history of St. Anthony and Minneapolis, first published in the *Saint Anthony Express,* is printed in the *Minneapolis Journal* for September 17 and 24 and October 1, 8, and 22. An examination of a file of the *Express* reveals the fact that the account was published in the issue of October 27, 1855, under the title "History and Business of St. Anthony and Minneapolis," and that the portion of the article which refers to St. Anthony had originally appeared in 1853 in the same newspaper.

The right of preëmption in relation to the early settlement of Minneapolis was discussed by Dr. William W. Folwell in an address on "Early Minneapolis History" before the Rotary Club of that city on June 1. A brief statement by Dr. Folwell about Minneapolis in the seventies of the last century is printed

in the *Minneapolis Tribune* for August 25 as an advertisement for the Northwestern National Bank, which was founded in 1872. The fiftieth anniversary of the establishment of this institution was celebrated on June 1.

Some of the pioneer experiences of Mr. Isaac Layman, who came to what is now Minneapolis with his father seventy years ago, are recounted in the *Minneapolis Tribune* for June 4. The same paper publishes on May 7 an interview with Mr. Kennedy B. Hamilton of Minneapolis, who served against the Indians under "Buffalo Bill" Cody.

Changes in the appearance of Minneapolis wrought by time and progress are the subject of an illustrated feature article in the *Minneapolis Tribune* for September 3, in which early and modern pictures of identical sites are contrasted. The razing of the residence of Richard J. Mendenhall, which was noted for the beauty of its grounds and its greenhouses, is the occasion for an article in the same paper for August 27. A third article in the *Tribune* for May 28 reviews the history of the pioneer jewelry firm of S. Jacobs and Company. A large amount of detailed information about the business district of Minneapolis in 1876 is contained in an article by Wenonah Stevens Abbott in the *Minneapolis Journal* for September 10 under the title "When Minneapolis Did All Its 'Trading' Below Fifth Street, in 1876."

The first moving picture theater in Minneapolis is described in the *Minneapolis Tribune* for May 21 by Mr. George D. Strong, "whose hand turned the crank of that first machine." The "beginnings of radio telephony" in the Northwest, as recorded in the *Tribune* for June 14, 1914, are recalled in an article in that paper for April 30, 1922. The pioneer operator was Mr. James Coles, who is now radio editor for the *Tribune*.

A fifteen-page booklet entitled *Fiftieth Anniversary of the St. Paul's Norwegian Lutheran Church, 1872–1922* has been issued by this Minneapolis church in connection with a celebration on June 11 and 12.

A valuable contribution to Minneapolis history is made by Mr. Edward J. Davenport, who has served for fifty years as an officer of municipal and district courts in that city in an account of his experiences which he contributes to the *Minneapolis Journal* for April 30.

The "horse car" in Minneapolis transportation history is the subject of reminiscences by Mr. Elmer E. Edwards published in the *Minneapolis Journal* for August 13. Mr. Edwards was a horse-car driver who began work in Minneapolis in 1876.

A pamphlet entitled *Partial Report of the Mound District Social Survey,* by Manuel C. Elmer, has been published by the Hennepin County Tuberculosis Association (1922. 31 p.). The survey was carried coöperatively by that organization, the Mound community, and the University of Minnesota, and is intended as "a study of living conditions and activities in a suburban community of Hennepn [*sic*] County, Minnesota, as a basis for community development." Although considerable useful information has been brought together in the charts and outlines which chiefly comprise the work, the value of the survey would have been greater if the historical background of the community had not been completely ignored.

The Hennepin County War Records Committee has issued a *Supplement to the World War Gold Star Roster of Hennepin County,* containing eleven names as additions to the gold star roster published in 1921. There is also a list — corrected to May 21, 1922 — of Hennepin County service men "who died after discharge, death resulting from World War service."

During the past six months Benjamin Backnumber's sketches of "St. Paul Before This" in the Sunday issues of the *St. Paul Daily News* have included biographical notes about the following pioneers: Michael J. Roche, April 16; Captain Jeremiah C. Donahower, April 23; Jean Baptiste Faribault, July 23; Alexander Faribault, May 7; General Mark D. Flower, May 28; Daniel A. Robertson, July 9; the Conger brothers, July 30;

Erastus S. Egerton, August 13; Edward R. Johnstone, August 20; Nathaniel P. Langford, September 3; and Judge Rensselaer R. Nelson, September 17. Other articles in the series deal with the nomination and election of William R. Marshall to the governorship in 1865, June 18; with an episode in the political career of Ignatius Donnelly, July 2; and with the first St. Paul water works, June 4.

An article by Marjory Sawyer on the Indian mounds of St. Paul appears in the *St. Paul Pioneer Press* for April 16.

St. Paul caves, with special attention to Fountain Cave and Carver's Cave and their historic interest, are described in an illustrated feature story by Earl Christmas in the *St. Paul Daily News* for April 30.

The historic Battle Creek locality has been presented to the city of St. Paul as a site for a park by a public-spirited citizen, Mr. William McMurray.

The history of the House of Hope Presbyterian Church of St. Paul is outlined in the *St. Paul Dispatch* of October 4. The article is occasioned by the dismantling of the building erected in 1869 which was formerly used by the church.

Under the caption "From a Pleasant Ave. Piazza — Recollections," Mr. Charles M. Flandrau of St. Paul records, in the *St. Paul Daily News* for May 21, some impressions of the ever-changing panorama which has passed his door during half a century.

The parts played in the theatrical history of St. Paul by the old Windsor Novelty Theatre and its manager, Mr. Arthur White, are described in an illustrated feature article in the *St. Paul Daily News* for April 16.

An account by W. K. Miller of the commercial development of the Dayton's Bluff district in St. Paul is published in the *St. Paul Daily News* for June 25.

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TO THE

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ERRATA

Page 42, line 38, for *constitution. But such is not the case with the fundamental law,* read *constitution we are living under today. It has been directly.*
——— 68, line 24, for *daughter,* read *granddaughter.*
——— 85, line 24, for *Staffan Staffanson,* read *Steffan Steffanson.*
——— 89, line 14, for *June,* read *December.*
——— 119, line 12, for *Mr. Noyes's,* read *Mrs. Noyes's.*
——— 163, line 10, for *July 19,* read *July 17.*
——— 164, line 33, for *two hundred,* read *five hundred.*
——— 180, line 27, for *Edmond B. DeLestry,* read *Edmond L. DeLestry.*
——— 185, line 25, for *Charles B. Cheyney,* read *Charles B. Cheney.*
——— 243, line 5, for *Midway County,* read *Medway County.*
——— 251, line 6, for *Paul S. Thompson,* read *Paul J. Thompson.*
——— 287, line 27, for *H. V. Moberly,* read *H. J. Moberly.*
——— 438, line 33, for *party,* read *entry.*
——— 464, line 12, for *R. C. MacBeth,* read *R. G. MacBeth.*
——— 465, line 28, for *Edward H. Bromley,* read *Edward A. Bromley.*

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